# The New REPUBLIC

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## The Week

THE death of Marshal Pilsudski of Poland, with all its ominous implications for the future, was the most important European development of a week otherwise chiefly marked by international conferences at which little was done. Pilsudski's death came just after French Foreign Minister Laval had visited Warsaw and had been received with conspicuous coolness. Whatever may be the fate of Poland, she is not yet ready to side decisively with the Franco-Russian group against Germany. Mussolini and Chancellor Schuschnigg of Austria have been discussing their common problems. Turkey, Greece, Rumania and Jugoslavia conferred in Bucharest. France and Italy have been working out the terms of their treaty for mutual aerial defense. Both England and France have begun, somewhat tardily, to worry about the impending war between Italy and Ethiopia—not because it is a piece of cynical imperialism by the Italians, but because they fear Il Duce will send too many men to Africa, men who might be needed in Europe to defend Austria from an attack by Hitler. Perhaps the most novel, as well as the most outrageous, idea brought forward in Europe this week comes from General J. B. M. Hertzog, Premier of the Union of South Africa, who would hand over the independent republic of Liberia to the Germans to satisfy their demand for a colony.

THE struggle regarding the bonus bill took precedence over all other developments in the domestic field this week. While Father Coughlin, Huey Long, the American Legion and their assorted allies tried to bring mass pressure on the White House in the form of hundreds of thousands of telegrams, President Roosevelt seemed likely to stand firm against the Patman bill, which would pay the veterans about $2,000,000,000 through a special issue of new currency. The latest information as we go to press indicated that the President's veto would be sustained in the Senate, and the fight will now begin all over again. In Congress, the plan for extension of the N.R.A., and the banking and holding-company bills, moved on their way, with the administration painfully, and surprisingly, unable to have its wishes respected despite the overwhelming Democratic majorities in both Houses. Secretary Morgenthau announced our willingness to consider international monetary stabilization. Our annual naval war games were in progress this week in the Pacific, in an area roughly bounded by Honolulu, Midway Island and the tip of Alaska. The alarm that these games create among the Japanese is only slightly ameliorated by the fact that they are being held a thousand miles or so farther to the east than was originally planned. New Mexico has done the expected thing and sent Dennis Chavez to the Senate to rattle around in the shoes of the late Bronson Cutting. Father Coughlin has denounced Huey Long in terms that seem to end the possibility of a political coalition between them. Alarmed by the danger that the A.A.A. may be greatly crippled or destroyed, several thousand farmers are moving on Washington to testify to its benefits. In Illinois, the struggle between local politicians and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration continues, throwing hundreds of thousands of the unemployed


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into desperate anxiety over their future. Throughout the country, attacks on civil liberties continue in a steadily mounting tide, while in the schools and colleges, self-appointed Red hunters unearth centers of radicalism that are mostly imaginary and would be unimportant even if they weren't.

SECRETARY Morgenthau's radio address on May 13 about the monetary policy of the government combined a defense of that policy with an announcement to foreign nations that we are satisfied with present exchange ratios, that we do not intend to indulge in competitive currency depreciation, and that we are ready to stabilize on the present basis if they are. It is one of the clearest and most cogent speeches that has ever been delivered on the subject; both in its theory and in its facts it is far in advance of most of the critics of the administration. Nor does it err on the side of exaggeration; it claims what justly can be claimed for the monetary policy without advancing it as a cure-all for depression. We fear, however, that it will be more successful as a logical defense than as a step toward international monetary stabilization. Mr. Morgenthau points out that we have now regained the share of international trade that we had in 1930 and lost by virtue of foreign currency depreciation. But it is not certain that other nations will think our 1930 share just. British opinion is that the pound is now overvalued in relation to the dollar, a defect that can be remedied only if our prices rise further. France is teetering on the edge of devaluation. If she goes off gold, a new series of exchange relationships will be created. The trouble with the situation is that so long as international trade is depressed, not all the important nations are likely to be satisfied with their shares of it at the same time. Meanwhile the failure to stabilize helps to keep trade depressed. We agree with Mr. Morgenthau that there is no obligation on this country to move first, and no assurance that if we did, others would follow. But the deadlock remains.

THE New Republic has consistently opposed this soldiers' bonus and all other soldiers' bonuses, whether in prosperity or depression, whether under Harding, Coolidge, Hoover or Roosevelt. But it sharply disagrees with the reasons of many other opponents. Least respectable of all is the panic that the conservatives are now trying to arouse lest the payment of $2,000,000,000 to the soldiers set off inflation. Far from doing that, there is doubt whether it would even be enough to give a substantial stimulus to recovery, and of course we cannot possibly have inflation until after business has recovered. The conservative banker or business man in his public utterances gives the impression of being as timid as a cottontail rabbit, and as irritable as a man with a nervous breakdown. He is always being menaced within an inch of his life by inflation, government competition, professors, Reds, free love, nudism or what have you. Somebody will have to spend far more than $2,000,000,000 in addition to what is now being spent if business is even to sell as much as it did before the last prosperity arrived. The reasons for not giving the soldiers a bonus are that not all of them need it, that veterans should not be encouraged to regard themselves as a special privileged class, that reactionary organizations of soldiers should not be allowed to thrive by political exploitation of their desire for bonuses, that if the government hands out money, it should be to those who need it most, whether or not they happened to fight in the last war.

WHAT will be the significance of Pilsudski's death in changing international relationships depends upon developments not yet known. Pilsudski was a Russophobe all his life—he was exiled to Siberia by the Tsar—and he was temperamentally congenial to Hitler. Colonel Beck also admires the Germans, and if he should manage to seize power in Poland, his policy would in general follow that of the dead dictator. But it is far from certain that Beck will remain in control. Pilsudski's Non-Party Union has ruled the Sejm by a bare majority and there are powerful elements in Poland strongly opposed to its policy. Hitler has never agreed to abandon permanently the German claims to the Danzig Corridor; he only postponed them for a few years, and there is some apprehension in Warsaw lest he change his mind, now that Poland's strong man is gone. Poland's future, between Germany and Russia, is dark in any case. Probably her best chance lies in avoiding definite commitments to one side or the other, and she could best express this policy by signing any and all treaties of non-agression presented to her.

GRADUATION exercises at many colleges and universities this spring seem destined to be accompanied by the alarums, investigations and repressions of a widespread Red scare. In Chicago a legislative committee contemplates the question of whether the niece of a drug-store magnate was indoctrinated with subversive political ideas at the University of Chicago, and an interesting sidelight on the situation is the reappearance of Dr. William A. Wirt, surely no amateur at spotting radical propaganda, who says that his own daughter is completing a course at Chicago without visible harm to her political and social views. Meanwhile the clamor for the Baker bill, requiring a loyalty oath from all school teachers and university instructors, continues in Illinois; and in Michigan the Baldwin bill, carrying similar provisions for all institutions of higher learning in the state, is already law and is supplemented by a statement from Alexander G. Ruthven, president of the University of Michigan, condemning radical and anti-war activities among students and announcing that no student meetings may be held without permission from the university

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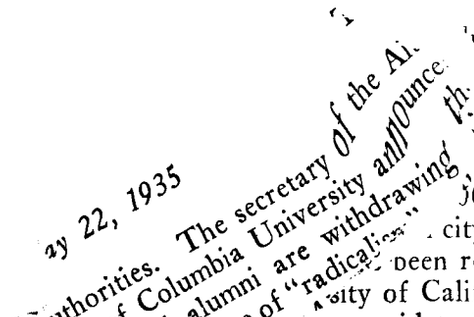
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The secretary of the Alumni Federation of Columbia University announces that many influential alumni are withdrawing their financial support because of "radicalism"

authorities. ...umni Federa- ...s that many ...eir financial ...campus; and ...J. Jacobs has ...00 to investi- ...city schools and ...been reported from ...sity of California in Los ...es are said to have forcibly ...d radicalism in other students. ... Trustees of Connecticut State College announced that any criticism of the College courses in military training on the part of members of the college staff or students will be cause for dismissal. These are but some of the instances of recent attempts to blot out what is basically the most hopeful sign in our educational system today—the evidences of a genuine ferment at work in the minds of American students.

DURING the past few weeks, the daily newspapers have engaged in another great push to bring about prosperity by pretending that it is already here. One of their chief evidences, displayed in front-page headlines, is the fact that relief expenditures have now turned sharply downward, and even President Roosevelt mentioned this in his latest fireside chat. This evidence may or may not be valid; but its weight is somewhat diminished by the fact that relief expenditures have turned sharply downward at about this time for four years out of the past five, the exception being 1934. Each year, they have turned sharply upward again in early autumn. The decline this year is just about the same as that of 1933, 1932 or 1931. Even in 1934, there was a drop, though it came a little later and was less than half as large as in other years.

POSTMASTER GENERAL Farley, a loyal Catholic, is sponsoring a new bill, now under consideration by Congress, that would strengthen the existing law against sending birth-control information or appliances through the mail. Under the bill, either the sender or the receiver of "obscene matter" (which includes all contraceptive literature and supplies) could be prosecuted, either at the place where it is mailed or that where it is directed to be delivered. We may note in passing that the only exception to this rule is at present material about the "rhythm" method, which has the official approval of the Catholic Church but is regarded by the best medical authority as highly unreliable. If the bill passes, as it seems likely to do, the dissemination of birth-control information and materials will be made much more difficult. An amendment has been offered that would exempt physicians, hospitals, clinics and medical schools, but the amendment seems to have little chance, and even if it were adopted, the situation then created would be bad enough. At a hearing on the amendment, it was supported by the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association, the National Women's Trade Union League, the National Council of Jewish Women, the Medical Women's National Association, the Women's Homeopathic Medical Fraternity and representatives of birth-control organizations. The only opponents were spokesmen for three Catholic groups.

NO BETTER news has come out of Washington in a long time than the announcement that Morris L. Cooke has been appointed director of the Rural Electrification Authority. Mr. Cooke, a distinguished electrical engineer whose home is in Philadelphia, needs no introduction to New Republic readers who have read his articles on the power question in our pages. He has for years fought vigorously and effectively for the production and distribution of electricity at reasonable rates and under conditions that would give it the greatest social usefulness. His new task will be that of bringing electricity to the farms, of which only 14 percent now use electric current for any purpose. If he succeeds in carrying out the plans of the Roosevelt administration, he will have wrought a revolution in American life comparable to that produced by the introduction of the automobile. President Roosevelt acted wisely and bravely in choosing him for the new post: wisely, because he is the outstanding man in this field in the United States; bravely, because it may be taken for granted that all the forces of the private power industry will be rallied against him.

AMONG the far-flung activities of William Randolph Hearst is a motion-picture newsreel service, the Hearst-Metrotone News; and Mr. Hearst uses this service, as he does all his other instrumentalities for affecting public opinion, to foist upon the country his militaristic and other propaganda. It is interesting to learn that a movement to boycott the Hearst-Metrotone newsreel is now under way in a number of the colleges. Students are protesting to the managers of local motion-picture theatres against the showing of the Hearst films and are supplementing the protest by staying away from such theatres, in large numbers. Many colleges are located in small country towns where the student patronage is extremely important. Protests of the sort recorded have come, we hear, from Princeton, Wesleyan, Amherst, Dartmouth, Williams, Harvard and Yale. We should appreciate it if our readers who know of additional developments of this kind would tell us about them.

FOR those interested in the social usefulness of the radio, several recent developments are worth noting. The first of these is that the agreement between the newspapers and the broadcasters, under which news was reported on the air for only thirty minutes a day, at inconvenient hours and while most of it was no longer fresh, is in process of breaking down. Several news services are now offering their

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facilities to broadcasting stations practically on the broadcasters' terms. Those concerned with other types of educational broadcasting will be interested in the fact that a project is now under consideration in which broadcasters, colleges and perhaps one or more of the great foundations would coöperate in an experiment in one area. Ample funds would be made available to see whether a real educational effort is compatible with the fact that radio is now primarily a private commercial device to disseminate advertising. Another experiment now under way is the distribution of educational programs by short wave from a station in Boston, these programs to be picked up and rebroadcast free of charge by any commercial station that wishes to do so.

A GROUP in Chicago is agitating for a change in the federal radio law. This group holds that a license to broadcast ought not to be confined to owners of transmitting apparatus, any more than the proprietor of a printing press should have the sole license to publish books. It proposes that educational, civic, philanthropic and other organizations should be permitted to broadcast for a specified number of hours each week, with the option of selling part of their time to advertisers, using the funds thus obtained to improve the quality of their own programs. That commercial broadcasters are beginning to be sensitive about the criticism made of the quantity and quality of advertising on the air is shown by the action of the Columbia Broadcasting System, which this week announced that the proportion of time devoted to explicit advertising will henceforth be curtailed more sharply than at present, and that no new contracts will be made for advertising laxatives and other medical products that have been the subject of protest. The National Broadcasting Company, it is known, is working on the same lines. Meanwhile, agitation is growing in this country for a government-owned and operated chain of broadcasting stations that shall be entirely free of advertising, not as a substitute for the existing chains, but to give those listeners who dislike advertising ballyhoo a chance to hear something else.

SOME of the most popular radio broadcasters are now those gentlemen who recite news into the microphone for fifteen minutes once a day. Their audience reaches into the millions, and their responsibility is correspondingly great. At the same time, they operate in a vacuum as far as the corrective force of public criticism is concerned, since no printed record is made of their remarks and most of their listeners are in no position to judge the truth or falsity of their reports on specific issues. We are reminded of this situation by some astonishing observations recently made by Mr. Lowell Thomas, one of the most influential of these gentlemen, regarding the status of the Child Labor Amendment. Said Mr. Thomas:

> Of course this Child stretches t[o] to tell paren[ts] Nobody would [ob]sters doing their eight[y] but, if the child-labor law the prohibition law, it would even employ little Nellie from next and wash the dishes for fifty cents or co[me] afternoons and mind the baby while Mother bridge. Also you couldn't help fourteen-year-old from across the way work his way through high sc[hool] by giving him a job tending furnace and mowing the lawn. That seems to be why no fewer than eleven states have gone against this amendment. It needs only two more to defeat it hopelessly.

May 22, 19[34]
Labor Amendment
it is plain that what the opponents

If we know the radio audience, many of Mr. Thomas's listeners probably got the impression, which has also been assiduously circulated by propagandists against the Child Labor Amendment, that it would prohibit children from working in the homes, or on the farms, of their own parents. There is of course not a word of truth in this contention. The courts have repeatedly ruled that "labor" means labor for hire, gainful employment. Those who listened to Mr. Thomas with great care will have noticed that he managed to dodge this pitfall. He was talking about employing other people's children, and assuming that the federal statute would be "made as sweeping as the prohibition law." But there is no earthly reason to believe that it would be written or enforced in any such idiotic fashion as is suggested. The states now have more power to regulate child labor than the federal government would attain under the amendment. No state has ever made any such ridiculous regulation as is proposed. Legislators do not go crazy merely because they are transferred to the national scene in Washington. Incidentally, Mr. Thomas's last statement is not true. Rejection is no barrier to subsequent ratification, and the Fourteenth Amendment was adopted under these circumstances. A number of the twenty-four states that have now ratified the Child Labor Amendment had previously rejected it.

ONE of the best actions of the New York State Legislature, which ended its session a few days ago, was a negative one. It refused to pass the bill requiring an oath of loyalty to the Constitution from college students. The bill was supported by William Randolph Hearst and the professional patriots allied with him, and was part of the general anti-radical campaign now going on throughout the country. Among its opponents were student groups from several of the colleges in the state, who presented their opposition with a skill and effectiveness that won the plaudits even of those on the other side. The defeat of the bill in the state where Hearst is strongest was a bad blow at his prestige and justifies the hope that the peak of his witch-burning program may have been passed.

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# Toward a New Party

A NEW party is in the air. Labor, farmer and professional circles in many parts of the country are talking about it. It seems to be the logical sequence to the independent success of the La Follettes in Wisconsin, of the Farmer-Laborites in Minnesota, of various movements in industrial regions. Disappointment with the achievements of the New Deal is growing just as rapidly on the Left as is opposition to its declared aims and measures on the Right. What interested people think about the desirability of having a new party, and what sort of program and constituency they want it to represent, will exert extraordinary influence at this formative stage. History is determined in the large by broad, impersonal forces, but what happens in a particular crisis, and the way it happens, is very much a matter of the deliberate choice of particular persons. Ought there to be a new party? What should be its platform? What are the chances for its success? What can be its form and strategy? The New Republic hopes to contribute something to discussions of these questions in its editorial columns. It is quite possible that the way they are now decided will eventually prove to have been of transcendent importance for the American people.

To open the discussion it would be well to answer the first question only: Ought there to be a new party advocating fundamental change in our society? That involves a consideration of those that exist.

Aside from the program and personality of Mr. Roosevelt, the Democratic Party is held together by little except tradition and the desire for office. It includes all the reactionaries of the South, some of the most sordid political machines of the North, industrial workers, employers, speculators, farmers. It is distinguished neither by homogeneous constituency nor by philosophy. Historically, it stands for states' rights, economy and low tariffs, while it increases the power of the national government, spends billions more than it receives in taxes, and raises import duties. It is for small business and big business at the same time. As a party it is not a suitable instrument for any kind of change whatever. Discussion of the party's design in the past has worn it so threadbare that there is little more nap to be removed. A party that can embrace at the same time leaders so diverse as Senators Glass, Byrd, Wagner and Costigan is a vote-getting machine and nothing more.

For a time the party proper has been submerged beneath the flood of voters who elected the President, the millions who were ground under by the depression and accepted his leadership on the basis of a promise that he would create a new order. Carrying the party into office behind him, he has since controlled it by virtue of his personal appeal to citizens in general. He is, in a sense, a democratic dictator. But the weakness of his method and of the forces behind him, apparent to some from the first, has been growing more obvious month by month. There never has been a very clear idea, in his mind or anyone else's, of what sort of new order he was bent on creating. His program was improvised from suggestions arising in dozens of sources, many of which were mutually incompatible. In political terms, it seemed to be built up by attempting to satisfy everyone, by yielding to this pressure or that. He threw a bone to labor and a piece of meat to employers, arranged higher prices for farmers, and also higher prices for industry, whose products farmers buy, he called for regulation of abuses, but refrained from demanding regulation stringent enough to accomplish his purpose, or failed to enforce it though he had the authority, whenever someone powerful raised an objection. In commenting on his actions week by week, we have found much that was good and much that counteracted the good. The nation still has ten million unemployed, twenty million on relief, an unregenerate capitalist system, and little hope better than that of an old-fashioned recovery to be followed by an old-fashioned depression.

There is no cause for personal blame, unless one blames the strategy by which Mr. Roosevelt's acts have been conditioned. Public opinion was confused and without concrete direction; the President had to keep his party in line, and he had to deal with stubborn habits and prejudices. As a transitional leader he has performed services that only history can justly assess. But nothing is more certain now than that he cannot come within shooting distance of the new deal, hopes of which he aroused in the minds of millions. If this is not his fault, how can anything better be achieved?

The basic answers to that question furnish the reasons for a different sort of political organization with a different kind of program. Mr. Roosevelt is a general without an informed and disciplined army. The millions who responded to his call were merged, by a process of infiltration, with the old political machine that was not ready for anything new. From the ranks they could have little effect upon its line of march. Add to this the nature of his program—that it was an effort to reform business through the coöperation of the generals of business—and you have the reason for lack of progress in essentials. Business and financial leaders, by and large, do not want a new order. They are on top and intend to stay there. In a crisis like that of March, 1933, they may be frightened enough to permit changes, but when they get over their scare and begin to see the prospect of being able to collect large salaries and profits, they will coöperate only on their own terms. If these terms are refused, they decline to produce and to employ more workers because what their opponent does destroys their "confidence."

Any program that does not vest in someone else the decisions about production, wages, prices, credit

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and investment that the property rights of the owners of industry give them under the old system, is a program that they can halt without ceremony. What is needed to change this situation is a political movement composed of those whose chief interest is not in private ownership of business, those who would benefit by a shift of power and are firmly convinced that they would so benefit. There is needed a movement that proceeds, not to try to persuade or badger the rulers of business to change the policies that create injustice and scarcity, but to take over, in the name of its constituents, the power to make those policies. Only in this way can the great majority of the nation effectively exercise its right to plan for an economy of abundance.

If the Democratic Party will not do, however, how about the Socialist? In doctrine this is certainly a party based on the need to achieve collectivism. Or if, for one reason or another, the Socialist Party is rejected, will not the Communist suffice? There certainly would be no need for a new party to the left of Roosevelt if all that were intended were a relatively small group engaged in education and agitation, without hope of coming to national power before, let us say, a decade. We already have enough, more than enough, of these. For there are not only the Socialist and Communist Parties, but the Workers' Party and other left factions, as numerous as the Protestant sects that sprang up in the days of the Reformation. We do not mean to deny the significance of such agitations, or to ignore the work they do, or to make the foolish prediction that what is small today may not be great tomorrow. The point is that if one means by a new party merely a doctrine or a group of potential leaders, there are plenty among which to choose already.

Our assumption is, however, that none of these is in a position to organize enough people at the polls to come within millions of votes of the number necessary to take the next political step, if we are really to approach a shift of power. What is needed is a genuine mass party that can promptly command the loyalty of large numbers of independents and of others who have customarily voted for Democratic and Republican candidates and are ill at ease with these representatives and disappointed with the outcome. There is a far more widespread drift to the left among workers and farmers, among teachers, technicians of all kinds and white-collar workers in general than would be evident from the membership of the left parties or the votes polled by their candidates. There surely is a void in this country that in any other advanced capitalist nation would be filled by a popular socialist or labor party, a movement not only looking toward collectivism but commanding broad support. It is by no means impossible, with the right leadership and strategy, to mobilize such a force in the near future.

The urgency for doing so is redoubled by the support that the restless masses are now giving to more or less plausible political fakirs who talk some of the language of collectivism but are certain to betray the hopes they arouse. The followers of Father Coughlin and Huey Long, the Townsendites, the Douglasites, the Epicites, offer evidence that unless the people are given a chance to proceed down the main road of history they will crowd over into the blind alleys. No one can afford to scoff at the leaders in question or at the sincerity and devotion of their followings. The only good way to minimize their danger is to offer people an opportunity to be loyal to something better. Those who are at once convinced that capitalism is approaching its end, and see no validity in the doctrines of the vendors of patent political medicines, will have only themselves to blame if the prevalent unrest is channeled off into the marshes of obscurantism. The time for a new party with substance is here.

## A Dred Scott Decision

CHIEF JUSTICE Hughes in writing his dissenting opinion in the Railroad Pension Case could hardly have been unmindful of his own observation as historian of the Court that the Supreme Bench throughout our history has suffered most from "self-inflicted wounds." Under the immediate impact of the reckless irresponsibility of the majority opinion, in nullifying the Railroad Retirement Act in the way in which it did, one is in danger of attaching exaggerated importance to its evil implications. And yet there can hardly be doubt that here is another of those tragic misadventures in the work of the Court such as the Dred Scott Case, the Income Tax Case and the Child Labor Case. One wonders how many more such decisions touching the very foundation of national power in a modern industrial society can be absorbed without destroying the very Constitution the odd man on the Court thinks he is preserving.

The railroad-pension legislation was in many respects unskillfully drawn. All questions, however, as to the ineptitude or arbitrariness of particular provisions—which would have been curable—sink into irrelevance beside the Court's sweeping pronouncement that any railroad-pension plan, however wisely and carefully drafted, is beyond the power of Congress. The lower court had held that the commerce power did not justify the grant of pensions to railroad employees not directly engaged in the work of interstate transportation. The Supreme Court now declares that a pension system, even though confined to employees engaged in the physical operation of railroad trains, bears no reasonable relation to the regulation of interstate commerce. The consequences of this retrogressive conception of the scope of national power, if adhered to, will be truly paralyzing. Once again we have a dramatic demonstration of the extent to which "petty judicial decisions" can threaten the maintenance of constitutional federalism. Practical considerations bar the states from enacting such

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legislation; the Court perfects the *cul de sac* by announcing that the Constitution bars the government.

No single decision, much less a five-to-four decision, can foreclose these momentous issues. What matters more for the present is the disclosure of the Court's mentality in dealing with laws growing out of the actualities of modern industry. How did the Court arrive at its conclusion that a pension plan, however carefully conceived, bears no relation to the promotion of efficiency, economy and safety in transportation, even if regulatory power is confined to those categories? An illustration is Mr. Justice Roberts' treatment of the problem of excessive superannuation. Superannuation cannot be serious, he says (ignoring such authoritative testimony as that of Coördinator Eastman), because in the very depression years during which it is alleged to have increased, the railroads have been operating more efficiently and safely than ever before. Of other factors that may have contributed to this "gratifying" result he makes no mention. But he goes further. If superannuation is indeed a danger, he says, the commerce clause authorizes compulsory retirement—without a pension! To the government's protest that such inhumanity would be "unthinkable," this is the reply: "The supposed impossibility arises from a failure to distinguish constitutional power from social desirability." What a bitter dichotomy! Never within memory has the Court so sharply dissociated the Constitution from social desirability.

No less revealing is the opinion's dismissal of what it contemptuously terms "the contentment and satisfaction theory," namely, that to secure railroad employees against the hazards of old age bears a direct relation, through improvement of morale, to the efficient operation of the roads. Mr. Justice Roberts invokes a *reductio ad absurdum*.

> Provision for free medical attendance and nursing, for clothing, for food, for housing, for the education of children and a hundred other matters, might with equal propriety be proposed as tending to relieve the employee of mental strain and worry. Can it fairly be said that the power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce extends to the prescription of any or all of these things?

If this statement be rephrased in terms of the power of Congress to prescribe minimum wages adequate for the purchase of some of these things or to provide for conditions of collective bargaining calculated to enable employees to obtain such wages for themselves, its absurdity is not quite so clear. But plainly the Chief Justice is right in pointing out that the argument is in any event frivolous. Constitutional questions, like most questions of law and of life, are questions of degree; an old-age pension plan is not "removed from the reach of constitutional power by classing it with a variety of conceivable benefits that have no such close and substantial relation to the terms and conditions of employment."

With like irresponsibility the majority opinion ridicules the relevance of the widespread adoption of voluntary pension systems now in force in respect to 82 percent of railroad employees. "The meaning of the commerce and due-process clauses," we are told, "is not so easily enlarged by the voluntary acts of individuals and corporations." It is as if the judges had but to go into some mental darkroom of their own to develop a photograph of those clauses. One would have supposed that the conviction of railroad executives, as evidenced by their pensions plans, indicates that such plans are not unrelated to the proper management of their businesses. Mr. Justice Roberts would have us believe that the roads have been giving their money away. The pension act, he says, is a device "to substitute legislative largess for *private bounty*, and thus transfer the drive for pensions to the Halls of Congress and transmute loyalty to employer into gratitude to the Legislature." If a pension system promotes efficiency of operation at all, in other words, it does so not because it takes away from human life the blight of daily insecurity, but only because hard-handed switchmen, trackmen and firemen are moved to special efforts out of sheer thankfulness for the bounty of an aloof board of directors.

This attitude of taking debaters' points that evoke cheers from the Bar Association gallery while leaving the substance of the matter untouched pervades the opinion. The Court is moved to intellectual frivolity in the presence of some of the gravest issues of contemporary society. One wonders what manifestation of that deep unrest among railroad workers which prompted the passage of the Railroad Retirement Act last spring will be necessary to convince these judges that economic insecurity is a poignant reality which businessmen and statesmen alike disregard at their peril. Meanwhile, Mr. Justice Roberts has done more than write the most persuasive brief of our times in favor of government ownership of railroads. He has reinforced, as nothing else could, the doubts of those who question the capacity of Court and Constitution to satisfy the needs of our national life.

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# War and the Common Soldier

## I

WAR IN its combat phase is horrible; everyone knows that. The mere word conjures up a picture of carnage—shells, gas, flames, blood, terrified faces, mutilation. But the strong resentment felt by the American common soldier after the World War had little to do with the combat phases of the War. It grew out of the way in which autocracy took possession of America; the way in which the War was entered into; the use of the un-American draft system and the Prussianism of the army that was out to crush "Prussianism"; the fact that only Wall Street profited by the War.

In spite of certain fine phrases, such as that the people "volunteered in mass," the Americans, as a whole, were opposed to the War. They voted against it—in the only way they were given a chance to vote, since there was no referendum—when they reëlected Woodrow Wilson. A minority candidate, he was returned to office because of the slogan "he kept us out of war," then regarded as a promise to keep us out of war. Evidence supporting the argument that the War was unpopular among the majority of the people is the fact that for the first time in her history America resorted to a draft system at the very outset of a war. (It was also argued, of course, that universal military service was the fairer and more democratic system.) Several congressmen and many historians thought that the draft was unconstitutional. The House Committee on Military Affairs actually recorded a vote against conscription.

Choice atrocity stories and the stuff about making the world safe for democracy helped to sweeten the bitter pill of the draft. But it had to be crammed down the people's throats through a literal terrorism. Imprisonment was the lot of those convicted of attempting to evade or obstruct the draft —almost anything came under these heads. Some armed opposition developed in the mountain sections of the South, and the quarter of a million men who did not register escaped punishment by flight or concealment. Over half of all who registered claimed exemption.

## II

Our history books tell about the terrible winter at Valley Forge, but thousands of American soldiers lived through their own Valley Forges in the camps and cantonments in the United States and in the training centers in France in the winter of 1917-18. Even in the Far South snow was on the ground for months. During that year many of the soldiers suffered because of an acute shortage of necessities, including clothing, fuel and shelter as well as medical facilities. Pneumonia became epidemic in some of the camps, and it was openly charged that the failure of the War Department to provide clothing and shelter for the troops was primarily responsible for the deaths that resulted.

Colonel Frederick Palmer, censor of the A.E.F. for a while, stated: "We were short 1,000,000 cotton underdrawers, 75,000 hats, 800,000 wool undershirts, 400,000 overcoats, as the men faced winter [1917-18] in the cantonments." That meant that every other soldier was without an overcoat.

Shelter for many soldiers consisted of tents pitched in the snow. Often the floors were of dirt. Some of the barracks had no heating systems. At times several hundred men, many with colds and in the first stages of pneumonia, slept in a single huge barracks room. Eventually charges of deplorable conditions in the army mounted to such an extent that the Senate appointed a committee to investigate. W. C. Gorgas, surgeon general of the army, inspected camps in Texas, Kansas, Oklahoma and South Carolina. He reported sixty deaths from pneumonia in a single month at Camp Funston, Kansas. In the camps visited he found thousands of cases of pneumonia, measles, spinal meningitis and other diseases.

Of course, one must distinguish here between conditions that were unfortunate and avoidable and conditions that were unfortunate but unavoidable. No one was to blame for the severe winter. But were all of these Valley Forge conditions necessary? It was definitely charged that the Red Cross held supplies that would have mitigated the suffering if they had been used. The truth is that just as in the current economic crisis, when property is held more sacred by the goverment than the lives of its citizens, so in the army during the World War the property of the well-to-do was held more sacred than the lives of soldiers.

## III

With the World War came the appearance of a permanent officer caste in our army. In the Revolutionary armies it was taken for granted that those of the landed aristocracy who went into the army would have commissions. There were class divisions in society then and they were frankly recognized. But it is also true that many officers of the lower grades were elected on a basis of merit. Rank-and-file soldiers frequently elected their own officers. The practice of men electing their officers was also widely followed in the Civil War and there was much less insistence on social differences between officers and men in our earlier wars.

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Wealth, social position and political influence played such a big part in making an officer in 1917-18 that Samuel Gompers, though an ardent supporter of the War, was led to protest to the War Department that it was "perpetuating a forbidden form of aristocracy." Plattsburg and other officers' training schools were frankly places for none but business and professional men. The exceptions were negligible. The social prestige of rank was at once obvious. There followed a blossoming out of uniforms. Industrial and financial barons, who served as dollar-a-year men, clamored for commissions—and got them. In job lots the War Department turned out majors, colonels, brigadier-generals, to the tune of wire-pulling, back-stabbing and feuds of all kinds. Washington, D. C., became known as the "city of majors." The New York Social Register reported a 30-percent increase in 1917, army officers accounting for most of it.

One of the first unpleasant things that met the rookie in reporting to camp was the rank toadying required by officers from the enlisted personnel. In this democratic army private soldiers were forbidden to have social relations with commissioned officers. Newly made minor officers were court-martialed for being seen in the company of privates, their former comrades in the ranks. A former army officer, now a professor in a Southern college, writes me that enlisted men were not allowed to have any social dates or even to talk in a social way with a nurse or a reconstruction aid, while officers might. In France, privates could not escort A.E.F. women on the street without being molested by the military police. In some cases privates were forbidden to escort any woman on the street.

The Y.M.C.A. encouraged this caste system by maintaining separate and often luxurious clubrooms for officers in England and France. Sometimes separate canteens were provided—an officer must not debase himself by standing in line with a lot of privates to buy a package of cigarettes. French women were not permitted to attend enlisted men's dances given by the Y.M.C.A., even though there was always a shortage of dancing partners. But they were invited and welcomed at officers' affairs. Enlisted men could not attend officers' dances, but officers were allowed to attend enlisted men's affairs and often at such dances all the women present would be on the floor safe in the arms of men in Sam Browne belts.

To sum up on this point, let us quote two distinguished officers. Major J. E. Runcie, instructor and librarian at West Point for many years, said: " . . . the relation that exists between the officers and the enlisted men in our army is not a military relation; it is a feudal relation; it is a social relation. . . . It is a relation that exists between men of a superior caste and men of an inferior caste. . . ." Samuel T. Ansell, acting Judge Advocate General during the War, a brigadier general, a former law instructor at West Point, said that enlisted men and officers "do not belong, as a rule, to the same class."

## IV

No policy of the War Department caused so much discontent among the common soldiers as the administration of military justice. Three kinds of court-martial were used: general, made up of from five to thirteen officers; special, made up of from three to five officers; and summary, which consisted of only one officer. An enlisted man might be tried in any of the three depending upon the seriousness of the offense charged, but an officer could only be tried by a general court-martial. The citizen-soldier bitterly hated this discrimination and denial of his constitutional right to be tried by a jury of his peers. In particular he hated the summary court-martial.

During the taking of testimony by a committee of the American Bar Association in 1919, a Major Chantland said: "In my judgment, the most serious charge that can be brought against it (court-martial system) is the fact that there are two standards of justice, one for officers brought to trial and one for the enlisted men." After prolonged hearings, during which many officers and a few enlisted men testified, the minority of the committee reported that it seemed a "gross injustice to exclude men who make up the bulk of our armies, the rank and file, who have the hardest and most onerous part in military service, the fewest privileges, the greatest burdens, absolutely from participation in military justice."

Severe sentences meted out to common soldiers by these officer-composed courts during the war period included, according to testimony of soldiers before the Bar Association Committee and before a Senate committee investigating the court-martial system, several of twenty-five years' imprisonment for being absent without leave. A soldier was sentenced to from three to six months, weeks after November 11, for having laid aside his belt while at mess. Many testified that the third degree was generally used in obtaining confessions. Under summary court-martial the soldiers charged with petty offenses were often sent to front-line positions of the greatest danger. In many cases this meant death sentences. Lieutenant-Colonel Porter told the Bar Committee that "We did not send him out with the avowed intention of killing him, but we did not protect him at all. We would send him out where it would be most dangerous." Other officers gave testimony that shows this practice was quite common. Major-General John F. O'Ryan (former New York Police Commissioner) used this method freely in the Twenty-seventh Division. O'Ryan said he kept his men at points of extreme danger until they began to get killed. He called it a "terrible punishment." O'Ryan and other generals believe that the purpose of military justice is to terrorize regardless of justice or injustice. They say that the enlisted men have to be made to fear their own officers more than they do the enemy. As has been shown by the foremost authorities on military law —General Ansell, Colonel Morgan, Major Runcie —the enlisted man had an impossible task to prove

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innocence or mitigating circumstances after charges were preferred against him by an officer. According to Acting Judge Advocate General Ansell's estimate, there were 350,000 special and summary court-martials and around 28,000 general court-martial cases in the year preceding the Armistice in an army averaging not more than 2,000,000 men. The number increased instead of decreasing after the Armistice.

## V

As soon as the soldier heard that the Armistice had been signed, his cry changed from "when do we eat?" to "when do we go home?" As far as he was concerned the War was over. He had submitted to discipline and hardships either because of an ideal or because he was forced to do so. But now the emergency was over. He wanted to be a normal man again; he wanted to forget the War. Naturally he thought there would be no more drill, no more censorship, no more goosestepping and saluting like robots. There would be a chance to see some of the country, he thought, before—best of all—he caught a westbound boat.

The General Staff had entirely different ideas about all this, as the soldier was soon to learn. There followed months of hard drill and mock warfare and more goosestepping and no leave—the men might as well have been quarantined—with no prospect of going home except for a few. There were the same old social distinctions between officers and men, the same old favoritism. Where the men might not go the officers might. General R. L. Bullard and other high officers, as revealed in their memoirs, now began to take life easier and to travel and to garner all the medals and decorations in sight.

Then suddenly it was noticed that the army was disintegrating. The citizen soldiers, after having done the dirty work of the War, felt that it was not a serious crime, leave being arbitrarily withheld, to take it. They went A.W.O.L.—absent without leave—to Paris and all over France; some even got to Germany. The General Staff took this very seriously. The dignity of American arms must be maintained at all costs. The Military Police were reinforced and turned loose to meet the situation by a system of actual terrorism, which could not have happened without the sanction of the higher-ups. Several thousand A.W.O.L.'s, around 90 percent of whom had seen service at the front and many of whom were recuperating from wounds, were rounded up and sent to the chain gang of the A.E.F. (prison labor camps), where they were put at hard labor for many months.

Some of the Military Police won national notoriety by their spectacular methods of third-degreeing and brutalizing the erring soldiers. Many men were sent up without hearings. Later it was found that some members of these chain gangs were legally on leave when arrested and were sent up without a chance to prove it. In the camps men were beaten and lashed. Victims charge that prison attachés, commissioned or non-commissioned officers, would pass lines of toiling men and strike them, saying, "Now, give me a smile." One sergeant testified before a House committee in 1919 that he had beaten up more than a hundred soldiers.

Not long after the Armistice, when the soldiers began to arrive in the States, the scandal broke. The censorship could not keep soldiers from telling their families and friends of their ill treatment. Several congressmen, led by Representative Campbell of Arkansas, introduced a resolution in the House calling for a thorough investigation. Baker, March and others were able to forestall this temporarily by persuading Congress that "no inquiry should be made at this time." At the same time, however, that he was minimizing the situation to Congress, Baker was cabling Pershing: "I get reports from various sources that our soldiers in Europe are many of them living under conditions of very great hardship. . . . Earnest and sympathetic men tell me that the effect of this is a great depression of morale, and a feeling on the part of many soldiers toward the A.E.F. and the War Department for permitting these conditions to go unremedied." Later a House Committee investigating the expenditures in the War Department made a public record of the horrors perpetrated on the rank-and-file soldier in the A.E.F. It was revealed that high officers had given the orders for the ruthless handling of the prisoners. General Headquarters kept these officers from being court-martialed.

## VI

Lest some reader think that I am merely bringing up old grudges, it is necessary to point out that we are living in an age of imperialism. No matter what is written or done, there is likelihood of another World War. There will be nothing democratic about the way in which the United States enters that war. The draft, the terror, the officer caste, the autocratic system of military justice, the discrimination against the Negro soldier, the imprisonment, torture and execution of buck privates will take place—in short all the autocratic features, and more, found in the last war will be present in the next.

In the next war the common soldier—impressed, in the main, as he was in the last, from the ranks of workers and farmers and small business men—will again be forced to do the dirty work without being given any of the loot and without having any voice or vote on the mere matter of going or staying out of the war. As has been observed: "The men whose hides are endangered are not the men who make the decisions involving peace and war." But a war machine—even such an efficient one, with all the new methods of dealing disease, death and de-

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struction, as the present administration is feverishly building—cannot be run without the common soldier. He will have to answer "present" and take it on the chin again. After the War the profiteers, such as Eugene Grace and the du Ponts, and the politicians will again be the heroes and the war veterans will again be "ungrateful treasury raiders."

Yet there is a word to be said on the hopeful side. Even the worm turns and soldiers have been known to revolt. Imperialist war may be turned into revolutionary war. This was seen in events of 1917-19. No less a preparedness advocate of long standing than William Randolph Hearst last summer said in The Paris Herald: "I do not think there is going to be another war. . . . After the next war resentful peoples of every nation will rise in rebellion. . . . This is not a Jeremiad. The facts are clear to anyone who has ordinary foresight."

Who would take the lead in such mass revolts? Most likely the veterans and soldiers. The more clearly the veteran remembers his experiences in the last war, and the more convinced the potential private soldier becomes that he will get a dirty deal in the next one, the less anxious the war makers will be to use them as pawns in their game of imperialistic chess.

WALTER WILSON.

# Extravagant Relief

ONE OF the cardinal pronouncements of the Congress of American Business and Industry recently held at White Sulphur Springs reads: "It is folly to continue relief so extravagant that it undermines the morale of those who receive it." The White House has not publicly admitted that it accepted this article in the truce it made with business and industry. But indications that something was to be done about the "relief so extravagant" were seen in Mr. Harry L. Hopkins' announcement that the "unemployables" were again to be handed over to the merciful care of local politicians. And by his $50-a-month wage scale for the heads of families to be employed on the projected public-works program, President Roosevelt isn't exactly flouting the wishes of business and industry, as will be shown.

It will be recalled that when Mr. Hoover was warning the electorate that Roosevelt's election would sprout grass in city streets, he also boasted that despite three years of depression, sickness and death had not increased in the United States. This boast was so unfortunate that it should never have been mentioned even in the exigency of a political campaign. No data as to the increase of morbidity and mortality among the unemployed were available to Mr. Hoover in 1932. But he could have had proof that a lower death rate for the population as a whole did not necessarily mean that there was no increase in sickness and death after three years of severe economic scarcity among the unemployed.

There may be some excuse for Mr. Hoover's ill advised boast in 1932. But there can be none for the now socially minded leaders of American business and industry who are worried about the undermined morale of their 20,000,000 countrymen on relief only because they know that the health of the unemployed has not suffered.

The preliminary report of a survey of 2,566 families (11,330 individuals) made in Birmingham, Detroit and Pittsburgh under the auspices of the United States Public Health Service and the Milbank Memorial Fund, states:

> These encouraging indications [declining general, infant and tuberculosis mortality] have led to considerable speculation on the part of some as to the possible advantages of "tightening the belt" during hard times, of returning to "simpler and saner living," of the "toughening" regimen of adversity. . . . Up to this time, unemployment, diminished purchasing power, altered standards of living have not *killed* [their italics] very many of the population. But this indication should be accepted only in so far as it really is a sign of good health. The death rate is not an adequate criterion of the extent of sickness and impairment. It is not affected immediately by unfavorable living conditions unless starvation and pestilence are actually present. It does not promptly reveal decreased resistance to disease. It is not an accurate measure, for example, of malnutrition. Furthermore, the gross mortality rate for the nation as a whole or for any large group of the population does not tell whether or not certain elements of the population are suffering from ill health; the actual increase in illness and mortality among the fraction which has been reduced to poverty by the depression may be masked by the general downward trend of the mortality among the more fortunate and larger moiety of the population. In fact, fragmentary information already gives a hint of warning that, in certain areas and among certain classes of the population, the situation is not nearly so favorable as gross mortality rates appear to show. Malnutrition among school children apparently has increased, in some localities at least. Higher infant mortality and tuberculosis death rates have been experienced in certain areas of New York City where unemployment was most serious. Signs of an increase in the number of mental cases are not lacking.

That report was dated October, 1933. Yet as late as February 25, 1935, Paul Mallon in his syndicated column of Washington news further broadcast an already widespread fallacy when he wrote:

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"The nation is getting healthier if not wealthier. A census for 86 cities shows a mortality rate of 12.6 this year compared with 13.6 last year."

In mapping the above survey, its directors avoided slum districts and sections of the well-to-do. "The desired sample of the population was one that contained a high percentage of individuals able and willing to work but in which unemployment was high at the time of the canvass."

The findings in this preliminary report were later confirmed by statistics gathered also in Baltimore, Brooklyn, Cleveland, Greenville, South Carolina, Morgantown, West Virginia, New York and Syracuse. The sample population in the ten cities totaled 40,163 persons in 9,130 families. I quote from the summary:

> The results show a higher incidence of disabling illness among individuals with higher incomes. The highest illness rate is reported by a group which was in reasonably comfortable circumstances in 1929, but which dropped to comparative poverty by 1932. Their rate is 60 percent higher than that of their more fortunate neighbors who were equal in economic status in 1929, but suffered no drop in income by 1932. The group of individuals who may be described as the "chronically poor," that is, individuals who were in a condition of poverty even in 1929, showed a relatively low sickness rate as compared with the group which had fallen into straitened circumstances as a result of the economic depression. The rate of disabling illness reported among individuals from families of the unemployed was 39 percent higher than that of the group having full-time wage earners and 25 percent higher than that of the group containing part-time but no full-time workers.

In a personal communication, Mary A. Mason, adviser on Food Requirements in the F.E.R.A. in Washington, writes me that "a large number of relief units have accepted as their guide the food allowances in the Adequate Diet at Minimum Cost as outlined by Stiebeling and Ward," but adds, "It is only fair to point out that counties and municipalities have a considerable degree of autonomy and consequently the acceptance of an adequate diet at minimum cost as a state standard does not mean that all units within the administration will conform to that standard. On the other hand, individual counties with local funds at their disposal may frame their food budgets on a more liberal level than the state standard."

Miss Mason had "no extra copies of relief-budget schedules in representative sections of the country" to send me. Therefore I cannot know what local agencies, if any, are more liberal with their relief than the above "state standard." However, Miss Katharine F. Lenroot, chief of the United States Children's Bureau, told the recent National Conference on the 1935 Needs of Children that "the average amount of relief per family per month [is] as low as $8.23 in the state with the lowest average, and [reaches] only $42.36 in the state with the highest average."

How extravagant is this relief and how does it compare with the cost of the adequate diet at minimum cost recommended by the F.E.R.A.?

Los Angeles County, perhaps because it has spawned such economic panaceas as the Utopian Society, Inc., Epic and the Townsend Old-Age Pension Plan, is relatively generous to its unemployed. The local F.E.R.A. agency, the Los Angeles County Relief Administration, allows $43.90 per month to the average family of four (two adults and two children under fifteen). It will be seen that this is more than the average in the state with the highest average, as mentioned by Miss Lenroot. According to the budget schedules now in force and effective since December 1, 1934, in Los Angeles County the $43.90 per month for an average family of four is allotted: utilities, $3.50; clothing, $4; rent, $15; milk and food, $21.40.

Now in Stiebeling and Ward's "Diets at Four Levels of Nutritive Content and Cost," the cost of the food is computed on an annual per-capita basis: $61 for the Restricted Diet for Emergency Use, $85 for the Adequate Diet at Minimum Cost, $150 for the Adequate Diet at Moderate Cost, $165 for the Liberal Diet. Thus, for the average family of four, the annual cost of the four diets listed would be, respectively, $244, $340, $560, $660. Prices were figured at the 1931-32 level, about what they were in 1934.

The county where the relief budget for the average family is higher than the average in the state with the highest average, allows two adults and two children under fifteen $256.80 for food on an annual basis. This, it is true, is $12.80 more than the Restricted Diet is supposed to cost. But it is $83.20 less than is needed to buy the adequate diet that the F.E.R.A. nutrition experts recommend.

Further, Stiebeling and Ward take some pains to warn that it "provides approximately the minimum requirements of the body for the various nutrients, *but allows little margin for safety.* It represents good food selection when a *fully adequate* diet is beyond reach, *but is not recommended for use over indefinite periods.* It represents quantities of "protective" and other foods below which it is not safe to reduce the food supply. Continuous effort should be made to increase the quantities of milk, vegetables, fruits, lean meat and eggs in accordance with the allowances suggested in the *adequate* diets." (Italics mine.)

Speaking of "protective foods," it is instructive to glance at that part of a table in which they are listed on a per-capita yearly basis:

| | *Restricted Diet for Emergency Use* | *Adequate Diet at Minimum Cost* |
|---|---|---|
| Milk or its equivalents, quarts.. | 155 | 260 |
| Leafy, green and yellow vegs., lbs. | 40 | 80 |
| Other vegetables, fruits, lbs.... | 40 | 85 |
| Lean meat, poultry, fish, lbs.... | 30 | 60 |
| Eggs, dozen..... | 8 | 15 |

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Compared to the $8.23 to $42.36 average relief family monthly income, the President's projected $50 per month for those to be employed on the new public-works program seems to show that he has disregarded the cries about extravagant relief. But closer inspection does not justify undue optimism. With less than half of $50 per month for food, the diet must continue to remain considerably below the adequate standard prescribed by the F.E.R.A., even assuming that prices will remain at their 1931-32 and 1934 levels. Moreover, nothing apparently is to be done in the way of increased relief for the larger number of unemployed whom the planned-work program cannot use.

The inadequacy of even $50 per month for the average family is further emphasized by the report of the Heller Committee of the University of California. According to its findings, the average dependent family of four requires a minimum of $75.68 for necessities. This budget allows $7.33 for utilities, $18 for rent and $50.35 for food and clothing. Compare these figures with those of the generous Los Angeles County budgets which, with the 10-15 percent additional paid to those working on relief projects, almost equals Mr. Roosevelt's contemplated $50 monthly rate.

It is peculiar that practising physicians and public-health officers seem not to have been consulted about the consequences to the health of the individuals concerned as well as to the nation as a whole of the slow starvation of every fifth person in the population. Physicians and public-health officers might inform the President and his relief advisers that in addition to being a factor in non-infectious disease, malnutrition is a factor in the spread of epidemic infections. Should some fairly virulent epidemic infection take hold among a section of the more undernourished unemployed, it would not be only the rest of the underfed, predisposed 20,000,000 relief cases who would suffer. Many of the economically more fortunate would very likely also be smitten. Passage through one or more human hosts is known to enhance the virulence of pathogenic bacteria and viruses.

"It is folly to continue relief so extravagant that it undermines the morale of those who receive it"; an average of $8.23 to $42.36 per family per month. And these are the master minds of business and industry to whom it falls to exercise the social vision necessary to save democracy and capitalism in the United States!

BERL BEN MEYR.

# Better News from California

TEN MONTHS ago, immediately after the San Francisco general strike, the state of California seemed the most violently reactionary in the country. Reports of flagrant violations of civil liberties bubbled up on all sides; they ranged from accounts of the mass arrests of five hundred known or suspected radicals in San Francisco to casual reports of the intimidation and abuse of liberals and radical sympathizers throughout the state. Employees were compelled to sign pledges of patriotism; organizations of vigilantes and Citizens' Protective Committees were formed in almost every community. In Berkeley bricks were thrown through the windows of the homes of suspected radicals; private dwellings were entered and furniture destroyed by vigilantes, who also took the opportunity to walk off with radios and books when they left. The first large strike after the general strike—that of the lettuce pickers at Salinas—was suppressed with a brutality unique even in a state distinguished for its brutal labor struggles: the homes of the striking Filipinos were burned at night, and shots fired into the blazing houses. The outrages seemed to take place, moreover, without arousing a wide protest, and the lawlessness of the vigilantes was scarcely so alarming as the apparent apathy of the masses of the citizens.

Since that time—since the November elections, to be exact—the picture has changed in many important respects; and as California formerly seemed to be blazing the road to fascism without a serious obstacle in the way, it now seems the state in which the movement to impose repressive measures is encountering the most stubborn, sustained and growing resistance. The transformation is astonishing and heartening, and while it could scarcely be suspected from a reading of the newspapers—which continue to shout about the Red menace in the most monumental wasting of ammunition reactionary propaganda has ever seen—it becomes immediately apparent in conversation with liberals, with newspapermen talking off the record, with the disillusioned supporters of Sinclair and with the elusive average citizens. The liberals one saw a short time ago disheartened under the cumulative effect of the San José lynchings, the Lamson case, the unpunished murders of the cotton strikers at Pixley, the naked terror after the general strike, have begun to fight and to make their influence felt; and on all sides one finds evidence of a heightened political consciousness, and awareness of the significance of events, together with a profound distrust of the daily press and a bitter suspicion of the maneuvers of professional politicians.

For all this, of course, the general strike and the Sinclair campaign may be held responsible. To-

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gether they gave the masses of people a lesson in political realities of the sort generally limited to professional politicians themselves. Thousands of quiet voters whose political activity had previously been limited to pressing a lever in a voting booth and arguing with the neighbors were suddenly, in the last few weeks of the Sinclair campaign, mobilized to make speeches, to print newspapers, to conduct house-to-house electioneering, to raise money, to work twenty-four hours a day—and they will not forget the shock of Roosevelt's abandonment, the systematic, statewide slander of Sinclair in which all newspapers, radios and movies took part, or the fact that Merriam is a minority Governor. The support for Sinclair arose spontaneously; in the last weeks of the campaign the headquarters had almost lost contact with the field; speakers and campaign leaders were swamped in administrative detail while volunteers swarmed out to work in numbers and with an energy that broke down the hastily assembled, ramshackle, Democratic-Epic party apparatus, never built to carry such a load. When the campaign was over the apparatus fell apart, but the lesson in practical politics remained, leaving California with an enlightened, disillusioned, politically experienced electorate at the same time it was saddled with a reactionary administration and a conservative press.

At the present session of the Assembly, twenty-four bills limiting or denying civil liberties, and imposing restrictions on the right to strike, have been introduced. They range from measures establishing a bureau of espionage to one making radical meeting places public nuisances, from measures making possession of literature advocating changes in the government a felony to those making advocacy of pacifism a felony—if they were all passed they would give California a form of government beside which that of Tsarist Russia could be called progressive. But they have aroused a storm of protest. Two of the most critical, those prohibiting radical meetings and limiting the right to read, have already been defeated. Eighteen professors of the University of California who joined in the movement to defeat them were publicly censured by President Sproul of the University who, however, promptly reversed himself and came out in opposition to the same bills he had censured the professors for opposing. Thirty-five assemblymen thereupon introduced a new tactic into American legislative procedure when they congratulated the professors on their stand. Nor is the protest movement limited to measures of defense. The move to repeal the criminal-syndicalist law brought Democratic assemblymen, representatives of Epic, liberals, members of the Townsend groups and of the Utopian society into united-front activity with communists and trade unionists; the radical members of the Assembly —the heritage of last November's panic election —have taken the lead within the legislature in the movement to free Mooney, and a resolution calling for his release has been passed. The threat of recall hangs over Governor Merriam, and followers of Sinclair believe that the movement to force his recall, gaining strength with each reactionary gesture, will mobilize many of Sinclair's supporters.

Other signs of the developing resistance to repressive measures are published in small type in the back pages of the newspapers. In Los Angeles five of the six students dismissed as a result of the anti-war strike have been reinstated; the various factions of the Epic movement continue to elect candidates in the Los Angeles municipal and county elections; the success of the longshoremen in San Francisco—who, despite the wave of terror after the general strike, actually won their demands for the hiring hall and recognition of the union—has stimulated labor organization throughout the state and compelled the authorities to move more cautiously in dealing with labor disputes. Even the Sacramento criminal-syndicalism trial, while it brought out into the open serious conflicts among the radicals and liberals, and revealed the presence, in the ranks of the communists, of several agents of the police and the employers, was fought so bitterly, and over such a long period, and gave such strength to the demand for repeal of the criminal-syndicalism law, that it can scarcely be called a victory for the forces of reaction. Seven of the nineteen defendants were convicted, but members of the jury are now denouncing the verdict and are taking part in the agitation for repeal of the law. Two years ago the cold-blooded murder of three strikers at Pixley scarcely evoked a protest, but when, last month, a strike leader in Stockton was shot by the son of an employer, ten thousand workers marched in a mass funeral and the city trembled on the edge of a general strike. The meaning of these events and sequences of events is not discussed in the newspapers—with the result that the circulation of the few liberal and radical weeklies is rapidly growing, and a militant liberal daily newspaper is soon to be established in the Bay area.

These signs do not mean that the struggle for civil liberties is over, or that the Industrial Association and the Associated Farmers have abandoned their campaigns against organized labor; but they do mean that further repressive measures must be forced past the resistance of an aroused and suspicious electorate. Some of the disillusioned Epic supporters hold that the present lull is less a response to widespread protest than an indication of the approaching election—and Huey Long, who has announced his intention to visit the state, is reported to have said that it would only be necessary for him to step across the border to take Sinclair's supporters away from him. The boast is extreme; the strength of the Sinclair movement came from the fact that Sinclair pledged himself to take immediate steps, well defined and widely publicized, the moment he took office. Voters who supported that platform and exhausted themselves in working for it are not likely to surrender to a vague program of sharing the wealth and crowning every man king.

ROBERT CANTWELL.

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# Brother, Can You Share a Dime?

OUT OF Colorado's dust clouds has appeared a new economic rainbow with a pot of gold at the end. The gold may be fool's gold, but that possibility appears of small concern to the multiplying millions who are taking up the pursuit. In less than a month the "send-a-dime" letter lunacy—call it fad or racket as you choose—has reached proportions that classify it as one of the major phenomena of the depression era, symptomatic perhaps of more than the get-rich-quick impulse which knows no epoch or geography.

On April 26, 1934, the Denver post office handled 168,695 pieces of first-class mail. On April 26, 1935, 286,644 letters passed through the canceling machines and a force of fifteen substitutes was summoned to take care of them. By Monday, April 29, the total had mounted to 408,000, and one hundred extra clerks and carriers had been added to the regular staff. Postmaster J. O. Stevic was talking about a breakdown of the postal service. Overburdened carriers were permitted to curtail their customary three daily visits to one. Postal receipts were three times those for the corresponding day a year before and the April total was the largest since 1931, although the chain-letter tide had achieved formidable proportions only within the last week. And Denver's story was being repeated, with the normal time-lag, in towns and cities over a steadily widening radius. Los Angeles, Chicago, Miami, Washington, New York, Honolulu, Havana; and the end is not yet in sight.

No one has yet come forward to claim the authorship of the Great Dime Dementia of 1935. Probably no one will, for postal authorities have pronounced the scheme illegal, though they admit themselves at a loss to do anything about it. But it appears reasonably certain that it originated in Denver. The principle is familiar enough. No decade passes without a revival of the prayer-letter chain. It has remained, however, for the generation of Insull and Charlie Mitchell, of Dr. Townsend and Huey Long, to transplant it from the drought-desiccated gardens of theology to the lush new loam of creative economics. Prayer is no longer a currency that commands universal acceptance; Colorado believes in the silver standard.

A typical "send-a-dime" letter bears the heading "Prosperity Club" and the slogan "In God We Trust." Underneath appears a list of five names, with addresses, and below them the instructions:

> This chain was started in hopes of bringing you prosperity. Within three days make five copies of this letter, leaving off the top name and adding yours to the bottom, and mail or give it to five friends.
>
> In omitting the top name send that person 10 cents. In turn, as your name leaves the top, you will receive 15,625 letters with donations amounting to $1,562.50.
>
> Now is this worth 10 cents to you? Have the faith your friend had, and this chain won't be broken.

Simple, and mathematically sound. A minute with pencil and paper confirms it. If the chain remains unbroken, by the time your name climbs to the top the total number of letters will have multiplied to the sixth power of five and you will be deluged with a shower of 15,625 dimes—a return of $1,562.50 on your investment of ten cents in coin and five stamps. And why stop with a dime? Why not twenty-five cents, or a dollar, or ten dollars, with the reward multiplied accordingly? Before the dime chain had really begun to unwind the ante was being boosted. Not, it must be confessed, with quite such a success. The faith that will hazard ten Roosevelt dollars—two weeks' dole for a family with five children in a good many states—is not to be found at every letter box. And postal inspectors have announced that they intend to crack down on the ten-dollar boys—if they can catch them. One arrest, indeed, was made in Denver, but the culprit was released when it was discovered that he and his family were on relief. The authorities are still seeking a test case less likely to arouse public sympathy for the offender.

Is it a racket? Nobody knows, unless it is the unidentified originator. It is easy to see that by judicious manipulation of the names on the initial letters unscrupulous persons might cash in cozily. Racketeers have not been slow in seeing the possibilities, and several cities are investigating charges that dummy names and temporary addresses are being employed to fleece the gullible participants. Mail-box robberies are frequent. But it seems at least an even wager that the master mind behind it all is a crank's and not a crook's. For one reason, it is hard to conceive of a racketeer with the uncanny knowledge of mob psychology that would have been required to predict its astounding success. For the last two weeks most of Western America has talked and thought of nothing but the dime chains. Employers have been compelled, in the interest of the daily chore, to forbid mention of the topic during work hours. Newspapers have carried uncounted columns of copy; editors have frowned polysyllabic frowns or wagged condescending fingers; print shops have toiled overtime turning out bales of ready-made letters requiring only the filling in of names.

It is equally difficult to determine just how much credence is placed in the glittering promise of the letters. Doubtless to many it is merely an amusing

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gamble. "Oh, well, what if it is a racket? A dime isn't much. Let's help it along. And who knows. . . . " There is always a tingle of hope in that "Who knows?" And that hope is fed by a growing mythology of hearsay tales. Somebody, just around the corner, got in on the chain early, and is already banking his returns—$25, $100, $700. There is the legendary housewife who has two quart milk bottles brimming with dimes; the homely concreteness of the milk bottles commands credence. In Denver the milk bottles belong to a housewife in Cheyenne. And in Cheyenne, they relate, the fortunate woman lives in Denver. The newspapers laboriously track down these stories, and disprove them—but new ones sprout with undiminished vigor.

And as one questions and listens, the conviction becomes increasingly strong that to a formidable fraction—if not to a majority—of those who have sent their dimes out to be fruitful and multiply, the mathematics of the chain letter is accepted without a challenge. They look at you with amazement or with amused superiority if you venture to challenge it. But it figures out! Five times five times five times five times five. As simple as that. No recognition of the rapidity with which that geometrical progression would exhaust the population of the earth. No attempt to consider where, granting that the chain is unbroken and that the innumerable duplications do not cancel out, the money is to come from. No comprehension that here is only the ancient bootstrap fallacy in a new form. In many cases of the earlier letters—there are numerous variants—the scheme was soberly presented as a means of "redistributing wealth." Hitherto, one remembers, no one except John D. Rockefeller, Sr., has seriously attempted to equalize wealth by distributing dimes.

Retreating from the fruitless colloquy, one begins to perceive that here, dramatized, is the pathetic economic cretinism that is fairly characteristic of the great masses of the American people and alas, too often of their leaders. Here is epitomized the general confusion as to what *is* money and value. Here is the pitiful readiness to clutch at any straw, however fictive, that promises to ferry us "out of the depression." Here is the credulity that makes the mob pliant and dangerous in the spell of a demagogue. Talk ten minutes to a dime-letter fanatic and you understand better where Huey Long musters adherents for his Share Our Wealth organization; How Father Coughlin recruits his National Union for Social Justice; why President Roosevelt juggles the price of silver for the sole benefit of a handful of speculators and mining magnates. You begin to appreciate that the dime dementia is not just another fad, which will run its course and be forgotten, like mah jong and jigsaw puzzles. It is historically akin to the tulip madness of Holland and the Mississippi Bubble, because it reveals the morality and mentality of an epoch.

And meanwhile the account is not all on the debit side of the ledger. Substitute postal clerks and carriers are paying their bills with full time and overtime. Postal receipts are approaching predepression peaks. And Jim Farley, visioning another surplus perhaps not so synthetic as the last, grins: "Illegal? Maybe it is—but it sells stamps."

TED OLSON.

# Echoes of a Revolt

IT IS very rare, perhaps it is even unique, for a government to suppress a revolutionary movement of any size and importance in any country, and for the whole process to be almost wholly concealed from the outside world. Governments have frequently been successful in suppressing certain of the more indefensible of their own actions, but the French government is the only one that has crushed a movement comparable to that of the Kuomintang or the Indian Congress, and has yet kept the whole affair more or less private.

The organizing body behind the movement was named Viet Nam Quoc Dan Dang, which means roughly, the Nationalist Party of Annam, Cochin China and Tonking, three districts that the Annamese regard as but one country. Its tactics were partly, but not wholly, non-violent. It was heir to a long nationalist tradition, but only in 1930 did it rise to a degree of power that threw the French into an agony of terror.

What first provoked this fear was the mutiny of Yen Bay. Early in 1930 a native regiment here rose and killed six of its officers. A confused struggle followed, but in twenty-four hours order was reëstablished. Other minor disorders were reported in various parts of the country. But these overt acts were not the most important. What disconcerted the administration most was the adoption on a large scale of methods of passive resistance. From May, 1930, onwards village after village quietly declined to pay its taxes until relief was granted. The population would present itself, unarmed, at the residence of the Mandarin or Administrator, and sit, patient but obstinate, outside his office until the consequent complete cessation of business made some concession inevitable.

Excessive taxation and consequent extreme poverty were their complaint. We have the evidence of one of the chief agents of the repression, Commandant Lambert, at the Criminal Court of Hanoi, that the complaint was not baseless. "Communists" he said—meaning by that merely persons suspected of opposition to the French regime—"were dying of sheer famine by fifties on the paths and roads."

The hysterical repression that followed these native demonstrations led to great cruelties. Mass arrests took place, and torture, according to press reports, was widely applied, especially at Thu-Duc, Saigon and Cholon, where electrical torture was used. According to Andrée Viollis (Esprit, Decem-

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ber, 1933), the methods used included: Deprivation of food, bastinado, pins driven under the nails, half-hanging, deprivation of water, pincers on the temples (to force the eyes outward) and a number of others that are not printable. One may be quoted: "With a razor blade, to cut the skin of the legs in long furrows, to fill the wound with cotton and then burn the cotton."

The trials of these arrested persons were carried out chiefly in secret, and with surprising speed. At Yen Bay, for example, the Commission pronounced sentence at two hearings on, first, fifteen defendants and then on eighty-seven—all eighty-seven being found guilty and thirty-nine being executed. To the activities of the Commission must be added the sentences passed by the regular courts and by the subject native magistrates. The total number of victims is unknown: a hostile source estimates 10,000.

Perhaps more interesting than these events are the measures of open war taken to ensure the defeat of the Viet Nam Quoc Dan Dang. These included bombing of villages from the air and the destruction of crops and irrigation works. This was regarded as highly satisfactory. At Co-Am, according to an official account, aviators, flying low, pursued a group of about fifty with machine-gun fire. Near Vinh, according to Le Courier Saigonnais, "very fortunately one was on the alert." A demonstration was dispersed by airplanes. "In the whirl of spreading smoke . . . there could be seen bodies piled in heaps, torn in pieces, twisted, while the mob, seized by panic, fled howling. Many wounded were taken away by the rebels. . . . Exactly two hundred and four corpses remained on the ground, and some fifty wounded whom their comrades could not take away."

The infantry, chiefly of the Foreign Legion and the Colonial Legion, was even more destructive. The accounts of their brutalities are far from pleasant reading, nor is atrocity-mongering a useful form of propaganda. But since some of the Legionaries were charged with an excess of zeal later at a trial at Hanoi in June, 1933, it is possible to extract certain portions of the record that will show on whom lies the responsibility for this behavior. The extracts are taken from La Franche-Indochine and deal with the hearing of June 12:

> The President of the Court asks the Legionary Billot what orders he had as to prisoners.
>
> The witness replies that his orders were to kill prisoners as there was a lack of room in the prisons. He agrees that nine out of ten prisoners were killed. . . .
>
> Lieutenant Lemoanne: I received the orders of Commandant Lambert to kill all prisoners. On occasion I captured Communists *in flagrante delicto* and executed them forthwith.
>
> The President: You had prisoners tortured.
>
> Lemoanne: That was to influence the population. . . .
>
> Captain Doucin: Precise instructions were given in confidential message 280 of 8/10/30, ordering the execution of every communist caught in *flagrante delicto*, or manifesting. . . . I am well aware that bloody deeds were done. But who were shot? Communists! Well, I don't think enough were shot. That's my opinion.
>
> The Attorney General: A man was not necessarily a Communist because he had been arrested. . . .
>
> The President: Apart from this message [280] about Communists caught in rebellion, were there verbal orders?
>
> Commandant Lambert: Certainly. Given by M. Robin [Acting Governor-General] at inspections. They were: to make the fewest possible prisoners. The Residents transmitted these orders to the Legionaries."
>
> The last witness was confirmed by Pawlowski of the Foreign Legion:
>
> The President: Had you received instructions to execute prisoners?
>
> Pawlowski: Yes, instructions from M. Robin, who afterwards congratulated us and said: *Tres bien! Continuez!*

The accused were acquitted.

RAYMOND POSTGATE.

## Sad Strains of a Gay Waltz

The truth is that there comes a time
When we can mourn no more over music
That is so much motionless sound.

There comes a time when the waltz
Is no longer a mode of desire, a mode
Of revealing desire and is empty of shadows.

Too many waltzes have ended. And then
There's that mountain-minded Hoon,
For whom desire was never that of the waltz,

Who found all form and order in solitude,
For whom the shapes were never the figures of men.
Now, for him, his forms have vanished.

There is order in neither sea nor sun.
The shapes have lost their glistening.
There are these sudden mobs of men,

These sudden clouds of faces and arms,
An immense suppression, freed,
These voices crying without knowing for what,

Except to be happy, without knowing how,
Imposing forms they cannot describe,
Requiring order beyond their speech.

Too many waltzes have ended. Yet the shapes
For which the voices cry, these, too, may be
Modes of desire, modes of revealing desire.

Too many waltzes—The epic of disbelief
Blares oftener and soon, will soon be constant.
Some harmonious skeptic soon in a skeptical music

Will unite these figures of men and their shapes
Will glisten again with motion, the music
Will be motion and full of shadows.

WALLACE STEVENS.

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# Washington Notes

*Mr. Justice Roberts Administers a Jolt—Roosevelt Ports His Helm—Trouble with the Veterans and the N.R.A.*

THE HAPPENINGS of the past ten days in Washington have been more vital and significant than any in a similar period of time since this session of Congress began. So rapid were their repercussions that a considerable number of our alleged leaders have not yet got their bearings. There was, of course, the extremely important railroad-pension-act decision of the Supreme Court, by which that humanitarian measure was completely scuttled. There were two interesting things about that decision. One was that Mr. Justice Owen Roberts, who in the past has associated himself with the liberal element of the Court, went over to the conservative side, giving it a majority for the first time in recent years. The other was the unusually sweeping nature of the decision which, thrusting technicalities aside, appeared to indict the principle of the bill.

Both the labor organizations and the administration were considerably more perturbed by the opinion than they were willing to admit. Nor did the reassuring words of Mr. Richberg do much to moderate the pain of those who weighed the language of the Court majority and appreciated what it meant. The more thoughtful lawyers with whom I talked agree upon two points—one is that the switch of Mr. Justice Roberts on this issue is a permanent switch. They think that the views enumerated in that opinion—which it is well understood he wrote—inevitably foreshadow a government defeat in the pending N.R.A. case and in the various A.A.A. cases soon to be considered. The best legal brains of the administration—and when I say that I am not referring to those in the Department of Justice—have come to the conclusion that Mr. Justice Roberts is lost to the New Deal and his switch is regarded as the worst blow it has had since its inauguration. It is not believed likely at the moment that any railroad-pension bill can be framed to stand the test laid down in the decision. Certainly the course of the social-security legislation has been impeded and new doubts of its constitutionality created.

A second development of the week was the so-called break between the United States Chamber of Commerce and Mr. Roosevelt. The important thing here was not the opposition of the Chamber to the Roosevelt program. That was entirely normal and to be expected. The important thing was the general acceptance by the practical political aides and advisers of the President that the time had come for him to cease conciliating the conservatives. If he wants reëlection, he must steer sufficiently to the left to spike the third-party movement and win the support of the progressives, whose votes helped elect him in 1932. This idea emanated from no less a person than the Honorable James A. Farley, who, following the Chamber resolutions, predicted there would be no third party and that Mr. Roosevelt would be reëlected with liberal support. Perhaps he is right. Certainly the conciliatory policy being pursued toward the La Follettes in Wisconsin seems to confirm it. No concealment is made of the hope that Mr. Roosevelt's name will head the Progressive Party ticket in 1936, and that that party's activities will be confined to the one state.

The real shock of the week came in the death of Senator Bronson Cutting. As well as being a great loss to the liberal cause in the country, the death of Senator Cutting is also a loss to the Senate. In both mind and character he was one of the very best in that body, regardless of parties or factions. The fact that he is to be succeeded by former Representative Dennis Chavez accentuates the loss. Mr. Chavez was the candidate against Senator Cutting. The administration supported Chavez in the last campaign, and with administration approval he had instituted a contest for Senator Cutting's seat. The contest would not have been successful. In fact it was well understood that, unless pressure was applied by the White House, the Democratic majority could not be induced to take it up. The general feeling among Democratic members was that the fight for Chavez was an administration mistake.

Finally, this week, came the unexpected passage by the Senate of the Patman bonus bill—a passage made possible by thirteen administration leaders and followers in the Senate, who voted to substitute it for the Legion bill, solely on the ground that the presidential veto would be easier to sustain, as is no doubt true. However, it remains to be seen whether the administration strategy in the bonus business will prove to have been smart. One thing is certain, I think: it will greatly increase resentment toward the administration on the part of the pro-bonus veterans, who expect a President to veto their bill, but do not expect to be tricked. Of course, it is not yet completely certain that the veto of the bill will be sustained, though undoubtedly the vote by which it passed the Senate—55 to 33—would indicate that. The veterans' resentment is the greater because of their belief that some sort of bonus bill was bound to be enacted. The least they expected was the Harrison compromise bill, which it was understood the President would have approved.

Still another happening of importance during the week was the acceptance by the House Committee on Ways and Means of the proposal to extend the N.R.A. for two years, after Mr. Richberg had made certain concessions that seemed to be in line with the Clark proposal already accepted by the Senate Finance Committee. The understanding is that the N.R.A. will be stripped of its price-fixing provisions and limited to interstate industries. The administration's attitude at first, as I gathered it, was extremely hostile to this latter limitation. In fact, the point was made that to restrict the N.R.A. to interstate industries would destroy it. It seems now that the only difference between the House and Senate on the subject is in regard to the length of the extension, the Senate resolution fixing the limit in April, 1936, and the House desiring the full two years, but the time limit is not an important factor. One strong argument for the agreement is that the Supreme Court decision is likely to limit the N.R.A. to interstate business anyhow. Nevertheless, there has been definite change from the position originally adopted by the administration, which insisted upon permanent extension of the N.R.A. with no radical changes.

Washington. T. R. B.

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# Other People's Money

*Wha'd'ya Mean, Clean Up the Bar?—Low Practices in High Places—Don't Forget the Judiciary*

I SEE by the papers that the great champion of the people's liberties, Attorney General Cummings, is going to force an investigation of his profession and compel our bar associations to clean house. It would be interesting to know what it is that is going to be investigated, where the investigation is likely to pause timorously and turn aside, and in what part of the house the bar associations are going to be asked to do their dusting.

I have seen more than one very vocal and pretentious crusade to clean house by the embattled high priests of the legal profession in New York. It generally begins and ends as an attack on what are called ambulance chasers. Ambulance chasers are indeed a mean and contemptible element in the legal profession. But we may well ask why our excessively respectable side-whiskered counsellors wax wrathful at their activities. The ambulance-chasing pariahs harass and annoy the insurance companies, the casualty companies, the railroads, public-utility companies and other large corporations whose juggernauts have a way of cutting legs and arms and other spare parts from the anatomies of workers and innocent bystanders. It is too bad there is not some intelligent and civilized agency to which the victims of our feverish machine civilization may resort for justice in such cases. The indignant lawyers who joust at the ambulance chasers never trouble themselves to fill this hiatus in our legal machinery. But they do tilt bravely and regularly at the ambulance chasers who annoy their clients.

Is Mr. Cummings going to make another foray against the ambulance chasers of various types in his profession and, perhaps, attack that wretched and lawless fringe of the bar which grows fat representing gangsters? Or is he going to throw open all the windows and set about sweeping and scouring in all the compartments of that extensive mansion known as the bar?

Is he, for instance, going to have a look at the performance of those great law firms that flourish in the general neighborhood of Wall Street and that may be justly described as the munition makers of the frenzied financiers who are their neighbors? Professor William O. Douglas, of Yale Law School, who was selected by Joseph P. Kennedy to make the study of reorganizations for the Securities and Exchange Commission, speaking to some of his fellow lawyers in Durham, North Carolina, a week or two ago, said:

> It is sad but true that the high priests of the legal profession were active agents in making high finance a master rather than servant of the public interest. They accomplished what their clients wanted accomplished and they did it efficiently, effectively and with dispatch. They were tools or agencies for the manufacture of synthetic securities and for the manipulation and appropriation of other people's money. In doing this they followed the tradition of the guild. In fact they were applying the teachings of their professors. They never took seriously the true nature of their public trust. They failed to act as conditioners of their clients' program. They neglected their foremost function—to create and maintain financial practices which were respectable, honest and conservative.

Before he finished, Professor Douglas quoted some pretty respectable authority—one who like himself has been a teacher of the law and who now adorns our highest judicial tribunal, Justice Harlan Stone. Speaking of what the changed legal system at its worst had done to his profession, Justice Stone said: "It had made the learned profession of an earlier day the obsequious servant of business, and tainted it with the morals and manners of the market place in its most anti-social manifestations."

Our vast, complicated, shameful corporate system, which, in so many of its manifestations, is deliberately designed for frauds upon stockholders and the public, is the proud invention of men who plume themselves upon being the leaders of the nation. These great law firms have guided their greedy and acquisitive clients through the mazes of trickery that the financiers had not the wit to travel alone. No cause seems to be too reprehensible for the lawyers to gild with their own sadly tarnished respectability.

Nowhere have these men shown in such dubious colors as in the field of corporate reorganizations. The whole unsavory practice of having bondholders represented by stockholders and both by promoters has, curiously, been the work of the minions of a profession that has sanctified the practice of serving but one master.

If you will examine some of those shady prospectuses that came to you in the old days of the twenties as the prelude to swindling you with a sale of questionable securities, you will be sure to find the name of some eminent Buzfuzz signed to it as the symbol of its legal propriety. You will find the members of these firms in Washington, in Albany, in every state capital, helping to shape legislation, administrative policies and even judicial processes in the interests of what Professor Douglas calls the "All-American larcenists" and against the interest of the general public.

I do not believe that these lawyers, eminent though they may be, represent the principles of the legal fraternity. There are evidences that many of the ablest and most respected members of the profession look with disgust upon the records of these great firms during the last dozen years. If, then, Mr. Cummings wants to clean house let him begin in the drawing room, not out in the scullery.

And while he is at it, he might have a look at our judiciary, especially in our great cities. I have sat among groups of lawyers and listened to them discuss their judges with complete frankness. I must confess that I have been astounded and shocked at what lawyers seem to regard as well understood methods of selecting judges. But it is not merely a question of honesty. It is a question of the fundamental philosophy that guides the minds of these so-called "guardians of our liberties." These men are for the most part the servants of property, the high priests of vested interests. We may well ask: Can we afford to permit our courts to become objects of public scorn?

JOHN T. FLYNN.

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# On the Labor Front

*Counting the Unemployed—Are Real Wages Up or Down?—White-Collar Workers Man the Picket Lines*

WITH President Roosevelt's announcement that one of the new federal work-relief projects will be a census of unemployment, there comes hope that we may finally get an accurate picture of how many people are actually jobless. At present no such information is available. Even the government, faced with the responsibility of providing for the unemployed, is largely in the dark. Last week, for example, the Senate Committee on Labor and Education, in a special report on the Wagner labor-disputes bill, observed that "at the height of the crisis, from twelve to sixteen million people were unemployed." In planning relief, a difference of four million in the number involved might conceivably be important.

There are, of course, a number of unofficial estimates. They show, roughly, that unemployment has declined some two to three million since the spring of 1933, but they disagree sharply on the total number still unemployed. The National Industrial Conference Board, a conservative statistical body financed by manufacturers, reports some 9,760,000 out of work in March. The American Federation of Labor places the figure about two million higher—around 11,500,000. There is no current estimate available from the left-wing point of view, but last November the Labor Research Association, an independent organization representing militant labor, reported some 17,000,000 unemployed. The great divergence in these results indicates that something more precise than an estimate is needed. Perhaps the new census will give us that.

The course of the Automobile Labor Board appears anything but smooth. Many of the employee representatives who were elected to the sixty-odd bargaining agencies that the board is setting up are openly denouncing the agencies as totally unsatisfactory. In Toledo, where more than 2,000 employees of the Chevrolet Motor Car Company are on strike, the workers have clearly shown their distrust of the board and its ideas on collective bargaining. Last week they voted two to one to continue their strike rather than place their grievances in the hands of the board. One of the reasons for this distrust is to be found in the "Rules and Instructions on Bargaining Agencies," which the board recently published. These rules are intended to govern the relations of employers with the representatives of the workers in collective bargaining. Among them one finds the provision that it is proper for employers to pay representatives not only their usual hourly earnings for time spent during regular hours, but also "for time outside of shift hours spent in meetings with the management held at hours fixed by mutual agreement or in performance of other duties as representatives agreed upon with the management."

Obviously, such a provision leaves wide loopholes for special favoritism, if not for company unionism itself. It is instructive to contrast this with Senator Wagner's pending labor-disputes bill. The bill, while permitting any employee to confer with his employer during working hours without loss of time or pay, specifically prohibits employers from giving favored employees or organizations any extra compensation. The reason for this is admirably put forth by the Senate Committee on Labor and Education in its report on the Wagner bill. "It seems clear," says the Committee, "that an organization or a representative or agent paid by the employer for representing employees cannot command, even if deserving it, the full confidence of such employees."

In his syndicated newspaper column General Hugh S. Johnson has been campaigning for the continuance of the N.R.A. on the ground that it was successful in raising real wages and, hence, buying power. Recently he denounced as "100-percent untrue" a study by the Brookings Institution which concluded that the N.R.A. had failed in this respect. The General, apparently, has access to information to which even the N.R.A.'s Research and Planning Division is not privy. For Research and Planning, which is the statistical agency of N.R.A., has been going along under the delusion that real wages have not increased. Early this year, in a special report on hours and wages under the codes, it reported that "The fact seems clear that on the whole the amount of money which the average workingman in industries finds in his pay envelope has not increased a great deal." The increase, according to the N.R.A., was about six percent between June, 1933, and November, 1934. In that period, of course, retail prices rose between 20 and 30 percent, thus more than offsetting the small gain in dollar wages. Accordingly, the Research and Planning statisticians concluded that real wages in January were about equal to the figure for the same month last year and "below those of June, 1933, the month immediately preceding the adoption of the codes." Perhaps the General feels that if this is the best the N.R.A. can do by way of ballyhoo, it has changed a great deal since he was in the saddle.

When the labor history of this era is written, the upsurge of white-collar workers will certainly make one of the more significant and inspiring chapters. Strikes are being called today where a few years ago they would have been utterly inconceivable. Who would have imagined or predicted that the employees of the New York Curb Exchange would ever join a union or go on strike? Yet twenty-three page boys, who charge they were fired for union activities, are now on strike and picketing the Curb Exchange. The entire office staff—seven—of the American Mercury magazine went on strike when two secretarial workers (one of whom had been employed for eleven years) were dismissed for union activities. And two weeks ago all of the office employees of the New York Jewish Daily Morning Journal went on strike to demand recognition of their union, a ten-percent wage increase and minimum wages of $21 a week. In each of these strikes the employees were organized in the Office Workers' Union, which is conducting a militant strike in their behalf. It takes special courage for such workers to strike, for their positions are easily filled out of the vast ranks of unemployed, their strike activities circumscribed and their picket lines broken up by the police. WILLIAM P. MANGOLD.

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# CORRESPONDENCE

## The Farmer's Future

SIR: Louis M. Hacker's review, in The New Republic of April 17, of "Agrarianism: A Program for Farmers," by Professor Troy J. Cauley, does justice neither to the book nor to the program.

The reviewer asserts that a system of small self-sufficient agricultural holdings would recreate the evils of feudalism. Those evils arose, not from agricultural self-sufficiency, but from the feudal system of land tenure and the resulting human exploitation.

Mr. Hacker seems to think that advocacy of income and sales taxes is equivalent to a demand for tax exemption for farmers. This is not so. The cost of government, including social services, is low in a rural community, in an industrial community high. To raise all the money for government by the general property tax requires agriculture to pay for what it does not need or use.

The constant assumption, indulged in by Mr. Hacker, among others, that technology is still centripetal, is false. The internal-combustion engine and electricity are equally efficient on a small and on a large scale. Steam is now the only source of power that is more efficient in mass application. Certain modern domestic machines are already competing successfully with those geared for mass production. The technological premise of centralization is therefore largely obsolete. Professor Cauley's book is perhaps deficient in its failure to emphasize this fact.

Mr. Hacker complains that the Agrarian program makes no provision for feeding the remaining industrial workers. On the contrary, it is anticipated that the largely self-sufficient agriculturist will grow a small cash crop with which the industrial worker will be fed. The difference is chiefly in emphasis. Instead of spending all his energies on the production of a single cash crop, upon the proceeds of which he lives, or tries to live, the farmer will devote most of his time to growing what he himself uses, and the rest to some cash product. There is nothing extraordinary about this. Most of the population of the Northern states lived this way until the Civil War. And the population was not "brutish."

Mr. Hacker should learn that it was not agrarianism, but excessive centralization, that led to the fall of Rome.

VIRGINIA FAIN WILLIAMS.
New York City. C. D. WILLIAMS.

SIR: Mr. and Mrs. Williams raise so many questions in their letter that it would require more space than can be placed at my disposal to answer them all adequately. I shall, therefore, concern myself only with the central point under discussion.

The advocates of Agrarianism cannot have their cake and eat it too: they are for either self-sufficing or commercial agriculture, but they cannot demand both. Self-sufficiency means complete withdrawal from the market; commercial agriculture its reverse. To say that "the largely self-sufficient agriculturist will grow a small cash crop" is confusion of the worst kind, for once the farmer begins to produce for the market (and who shall say what is a "'small" crop?) he immediately becomes the victim of all the chances of the market. It is idle to insist that self-sufficiency ever existed under capitalism, for the farmer has always been a commercial producer, either cultivating a cash crop, or erecting a pioneer improvement, or working in the colonial lumber camps or fishing fleets, or exploiting the labor power of his women and children in the early textile mills of New England. From the very origins of American settlement, the farmer has been compelled to make cash to meet his fixed charges and pay for the necessaries he himself could not produce. In other words, he has operated in a money economy. The devotees of Agrarianism are hostile to this money economy, as am I; but they want to go back to a natural economy of self-sufficiency, which is another name for scarcity and feudalism; while I insist that we must progress forward to a collectivist economy based on plenty and the conservation of all those great functional achievements of capitalism. The Agrarians want to flee back into the past and they seem to think there is a halfway house somewhere this side of total ruin: and that is the "happy farmer" of the pre-Civil War period. I say this "happy farmer" is a pure fiction; the only self-sufficing farmer that ever existed was the serf of feudalism—and he had to pay heavily for the only social service he got, that is to say, protection.

New York City. LOUIS M. HACKER.

## Extracts from Letters

A. L. WIRIN, representing the American Civil Liberties Union as associate counsel for the defense in the trial of the Gallup, New Mexico, miners, sends us a report on the kidnaping of David Levinson, International Labor Defense attorney, and Robert Minor, chairman of the Gallup Defense Committee. Investigation discloses that the crime was committed on a Navajo Indian reservation, Mr. Wirin reports, and thus the federal authorities have clear jurisdiction to intervene. Fair-minded persons, interested in seeing justice done both in the miners' trial and the kidnaping, are proposing a fourfold program:

1. An investigation by the Indian Bureau, of which John Collier is the head.
2. An investigation and prosecution by the United States Department of Justice through Homer Cummings, attorney-general, and J. Edgar Hoover, chief of the Department of Justice agents.
3. A senatorial investigation, with full powers of subpoena by a senatorial subcommittee.
4. A congressional investigation similar to that of the Senate.

Mr. Wirin suggests that readers of The New Republic communicate with the federal departments named and urge that they take action. Those who desire to contribute to the Defense Fund, being raised to defend the ten miners awaiting trial on first-degree-murder charges, may do so by forwarding contributions to the Gallup Defense Committee, Gallup, New Mexico.

The American Friends' Service Committee, from its headquarters at 20 South Twelfth Street in Philadelphia, announces its forthcoming series of Institutes of International Relations, to be held in June at nine different educational centers in the United States. Outstanding authorities in international relations and workers in the cause of peace will address these Institutes, which are scheduled for Atlanta, Duke University, Grinnell College, Northwestern University, Wellesley College, Whittier College, Mills College, Reed College and Haverford College.

William Sulzer, former Governor of New York, sends in a proposal to base the federal income tax for both individuals and corporations on gross receipts. As a supplement to this proposal Mr. Sulzer would abolish all tax exemptions on bonds, make the income tax exclusively a federal function and inheritance taxes exclusively a state function, and would amend the Constitution, if necessary, to bring these changes about. Of his proposal for a gross-receipts income tax, the rate arranged in geometric progression, Mr. Sulzer says, "By such a law all will be equal. No one will escape paying something. Everyone will pay according to his gross receipts; and the cost of collecting the tax will be less than one percent of what the costs are now, as most of the officials in the Internal Revenue Office can be dispensed with, and many of the officials in the Treasury Department will be unnecessary. There will be no chance of defrauding the government; and everyone will know just what to do and how to do it, without any help from outside agencies."

A correspondent in New York City suggests that the government give some direct aid to young couples who want to get married, but are prevented from doing so by present economic conditions. He suggests that loans be made in the form of orders on manufacturers of home building and household necessities, thus stimulating employment, and that the loans be repaid in cash, distributed over a long amortization period and carried at a low rate of interest.

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# Theatre Total

EVERY season by this time of the year most of the plays that seemed fairly promising have been published. This happens partly through the merits of some of them; partly that they may be spread out for better acquaintance among little theatres, stock companies and libraries; partly because many publishers feel the need for a play or so on their spring lists. We are all the more reminded of the inexhaustible problem of distinguishing the play itself from what it amounted to in production. To say "amounted to as we saw it acted" is not exact. The acting is the play's first theatrical necessity no doubt; but the directing and the décor are often inextricably bound both into the play itself and into the acting. It is even worse theatre-thinking to speak of the play as literature, distinguishing it thus from all that occurs when it is staged.

To judge a play, written or published, as literature is to mess up the whole question. There is no such thing as a play that is sheer literature. We may speak of literature cast into the dramatic form. Or we may speak of the literary aspect, or quality, of a play; by which we mean certain elements that exist in it independent of its stage performance. Some most reliable things have been written in play form that were not even intended for the theatre; but that does not change the principle. Swinburne's "Atalanta in Calydon" will serve as an example. On the other hand, if we take such a piece as Eugene O'Neill's "The Emperor Jones," it exists only faintly as literature; taken so, it is at best a mere strong short story. Nine-tenths of its force and suggestion of actuality must lie within its stage presentation and expression. As theatre, the argument would fall, accordingly, against Swinburne, as literature against O'Neill, and no harm done.

We have long been accustomed to the notion of "actor-proof" plays, and long ago Mr. Shaw made a nice distinction between plays that the actors have to act and plays that act them. For the most part I think it safer to speak only of farces and thrillers as actor-proof. Or at least it is so nowadays. There was doubtless a time when "Hamlet" could have been called actor-proof; but that was when actors spoke distinctly enough for you to hear Shakespeare's words at any rate and detect a modicum of his rhythm. It was also at a time when actors never thought that Shakespeare had to be reduced to their own daily realism; they ripped around of themselves by day, but, once they got to the night's theatre, were willing to let the bard have his own for the moment. A few scenes, yes, but no whole play of Shakespeare's could safely be called actor-proof these days.

Every playwright surely must yearn to see his play acted. The wise author, in the case of many a play, will know that good actors may project from it and into it some things at least that he has not imagined, things that will carry it a long way further than it might have gone as he himself foresaw it in production. On the other hand a yet wiser—or not wiser—author might be anxious for his meanings to be acted, his intentions to be carried out. Dramatists like Shakespeare may obtain this end by creating scenes that speak (or stamp) the necessary point, even when they are half-acted, or by pouring out words and poetic figures powerful in their exactitude, loveliness and persuasion. Through these the mood and influence are clinched at least somewhat, and the characters fortified in outline. A dramatist like Shaw takes another course. His well known directions and descriptions serve numerous purposes. They tend to make the plays more publishable, which is to say that a kind of fiction trait is introduced, an effect like reading a scene in a novel. The actor, too, is helped at times toward a shrewder creation of the role. And, for a subtler point, the actor, after doing what he does, thinks that he has done what Shaw sets forth, he finds himself described as it were. To anyone who knows actor psychology the bucking-up process of this is evident—since it is usually true that if you say to an actor that his interpretation of thus and so was so and so, he will immediately think that something wonderful in him has been detected especially by you; though the truth is that until you mentioned it, the idea had never entered his head.

Something might also be said about the play's, the acting's or the décor's being audience-proof.

It is not a simple matter discussing the element in a play, printed or staged, that can be called the play itself. Not the acting alone, but the producing also, and the décor, either as possibilities or as actual, come into the confusion. Many plays are not unfriendly to good results in directing or in acting—an idiotic novelette like "The Shining Hour," even, may be given, for some spectators at least, an air of reality. In "The Emperor Jones" a remarkable dramatic pattern is created, a thing that can be conveyed in a dozen words. The rest of its stage occasion must come from the director, the scene designer and the actors. This means both that we may have notable artists doing something notable with it, and that we may have such wretched affairs as its production at the Metropolitan opera, with nobody able to think of much beyond Mr. Tibbett's running round the stage and falling down in the center, and the witch doctor coming up as bright as a button out of the prompter's box, and everything ending in banality. The extent to which the text of the play itself should have provided indications for the action, movement and setting, and not have left so much unenvisioned and unindicated, is a point worth thinking over.

The last and most subtle and difficult of all the points involved are the extent to which the actor invents the play—really creates something where something was not before—and the extent to which the play prepares inevitably this moment for him, as a song might provide the chance, or even requirement, for a certain vocal tone, interpretation, excitement or style. It can be said of the best grade of drama that in its fullest sense it cannot be free of the acting involved, precisely as acting at its best cannot be free of the drama it enacts. This—all these notes in fact—is only another way of saying that as the theatre art approaches a full life of its own, its contributing elements—drama, acting, directing and so on—are with more difficulty isolated and seen each in its own self. And yet the aim and practice in making these distinctions are among the chief needs and signs of any theatre knowledge.

STARK YOUNG.

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# BOOKS IN REVIEW

## The Mid-Victoria Cross

THERE are five Pulitzer prizes in literature and the drama. Two of them went, this year, to writers who clearly deserved them. Of the other three awards, one was debatable, one was a cagey compromise and one was downright silly.

The two good choices were those of the biographer and the historian. Douglas Southall Freeman has collected all the existing material on Robert E. Lee, including much that was overlooked by other scholars, and has used it as the basis for a four-volume authoritative life. A $1,000 prize seems a pretty modest recompense for twenty years spent behind the bars and gratings of a library. Charles McLean Andrews, a former president of the American Historical Association, is writing what will be a still longer work on "The Colonial Period of American History," a subject to which he has devoted almost his whole career. Louis Hacker tells me that nobody else except the late Frederick J. Turner has had a wider influence on recent American historians. I might add that the Pulitzer awards in history have been consistently better than the others, even though there have been occasional lapses like the choice of General Pershing in 1932 and of Herbert Agar in 1934. The biography awards have been fair to middling. Several times they have gone to stuffed shirts or to men in the business of stuffing them, but usually they have been offered as a reward for patient scholarship. The Pulitzer committee are more capable of judging scholarship, which is a measurable thing, than they are of recognizing taste or feeling or imagination.

The best of this year's awards in the field of imaginative literature is the one I called debatable. It was given to Josephine W. Johnson for "Now in November," a novel that tells the story of a Missouri family, of its fight to pay off a mortgage, and of what happened one year when the crops were destroyed by drought and fire. The book is written honestly, with deep feeling, in an extraordinarily smooth and unified style. Indeed, the style is its chief defect, for it presents such a bright, impermeable surface that one loses the full force of the struggle underneath—it is as if a circus tent blew down, as if the animals clawed at each other while the audience tried wildly to escape, and as if we saw nothing of their struggles except great billows under the canvas. It seems to me that the Pulitzer prize should have gone to a book conceived more as a novel, to a book in which the emphasis was on character and conflict, rather than on a beautifully subdued and all-subduing style that holds everything together by allowing nothing to stand out sharply. . . . Incidentally, the Pulitzer novel committee cannot be proud of its record since 1918. Among the writers who have contributed most to the development of American fiction—Dreiser, Anderson, Lewis, Dos Passos, Hemingway—it has chosen only Lewis, the most popular, and he refused to accept the prize.

There is no real debate, this year, about the drama award: everyone except Clayton Hamilton seems to regard it as a neat compromise. Almost everyone agrees that the best plays of the season were either revolutionary (like "Awake and Sing," "Stevedore" and "Waiting for Lefty") or else were improper (like "The Children's Hour"). The play that won the prize was neither, and it had the additional merit of dealing with New York in the 1850's, so that it reflected not the faintest shadow of contemporary disputes. Sometimes in the past the Pulitzer drama committee has shown real courage in its choices and has had them overruled by the bigwig publishers and editors of the Advisory Board. This time it played safe.

But it is this year's poetry award that is indefensible, and for reasons that are older than our recent quarrels over sex and revolution. Back in 1916, when I was a member of the Harvard Poetry Society, there were two schools of thought among us—there were those who believed that we ought to write in our own language about things we had felt or seen, and those who believed that we ought to write about things we had read, in the language of Lord Alfred Keats-Rossetti. I thought that the victory of the first school had been acknowledged years ago, even by the Pulitzer poetry committee. But the award to Audrey Wurdemann's "Bright Ambush" makes me wonder whether we haven't gone back to the days of Bliss Carman and Richard Hovey—the old days when E. A. Robinson was a slightly disreputable realist and Sandburg couldn't be mentioned in polite society.

Miss Wurdemann wasn't born till 1911. She comes from Seattle and has traveled extensively in the Orient, the Philippines, Hawaii and throughout the United States. But there is, in her poems, no sign of her birthplace or her travels. There are very few personal observations and not a single emotion that she makes indubitably her own. You would suspect from reading her that she was born somewhere in a provincial library, that she had moved no farther than from Elizabeth Barrett Browning to E. A. Housman, and that she sank every night into tender dreams after wrapping herself in the proofsheets of Edna St. Vincent Millay. Her book is written on the margins of others.

All in all, this year's awards for imaginative literature are a discouraging spectacle, a drama that has turned into a comedy of intrigue and a kitchen farce without amusing its audience. The Pulitzer committees have proved after eighteen years that they are unable to produce good results under the system to which they are held: it is time for them to go out of business. Or, if the awards for poetry, drama and fiction are still to be made, I suggest that their terms be modified so that nobody will be fooled by them. I suggest that Nicholas Murray Butler, when making his presentation address, should speak somewhat as follows:

"We members of the Advisory Board have great difficulty in making our choices. Individually, some of us are fairly brave, but we begin to quiver and quake as soon as we come together. We are afraid of sex, afraid of ideas, afraid of blood, revolution and coarse language. We are even afraid of the recommendations made by our own committees, which are sometimes careless in tracking down heresies.

"Under these circumstances you will understand that it is practically impossible for us to give prizes to the best novel or drama or book of poems. The best in literature always has about it something dangerous. Even the second-best is likely to be disturbing, and these prizes are being awarded on the basis of our not having been disturbed. What they really imply is a guarantee to the American public that the two chosen books and the chosen play have nothing in them to shatter conventions or shake the state, nothing to drive the stock market down or interrupt the sleep of virgins.

"Pulitzer prize-winners, we had a hard time finding you this year. Some of you we had to take very young, for

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fear that if we waited too long you would become intellectually troubled and emotionally troubling. We may have a harder time next year, when the battle lines are more clearly drawn. Now, as a token of our joy in discovery, let us present you with these Mid-Victoria Crosses, worth each a thousand dollars. Take them and bear them and let them always remind you that the better part of valor is discretion."

MALCOLM COWLEY.

# Records of a Great Poet

*The Letters of Gerard Manley Hopkins to Robert Bridges. The Correspondence of Gerard Manley Hopkins and Richard Watson Dixon. Edited by Claude Colleer Abbott. New York: The Oxford University Press. 2 vols. 592 pages. $10.*

IT WOULD be no exaggeration to call Gerard Manley Hopkins the strangest phenomenon of Victorian England. His mind, as revealed in these letters, in its reverence for "character" and conservatism, was almost solid Victorian: his spirit was that of a medieval ascetic: his poetry, which was more equally the product of mind and spirit than that of any other Victorian writer, bears the indelible imprint of the exile.

That is one reason why he appeals so strongly to contemporary English poets. More so even than Eliot. For whereas Eliot's work is not so much something rootless as something uprooted, Hopkins suffered the more terrible exile of the man born out of his time. Though he subordinated his writing to his religious vocation, yet he was a true poet; and in his own words "would have . . . all true poets remember that fame, the being known, though in itself one of the most dangerous things to man, is nevertheless the true and appointed air, element and setting of genius and its works." Hopkins was indeed out of his element, for during his lifetime he was known as a poet to practically no one but Bridges and Canon Dixon. His, in a slightly lesser degree, is the predicament of the twentieth-century poet—the consciousness of being cut off from the mass of his fellows, a current insulated.

Hopkins' life was externally uneventful. He was converted to Roman Catholicism at Oxford and two years later, in 1868, entered the Jesuit novitiate. In 1884, after teaching at Stonyhurst and parish work in Liverpool, he was appointed to the Chair of Greek at University College, Dublin. In 1889 he died, not yet fifty years of age. Neither as priest nor as teacher does he seem to have been an unqualified success. The bulk of his poetry was written between 1877 and 1880. After that he wrote with increasing difficulty and deepening despair: "If I could but get on, if I could but produce work I should not mind its being buried, silenced and going no further: but it kills me to be time's eunuch and never to beget." The agony of mind, which is rarely and barely stated in these letters, found full expression in the "terrible" sonnets. It was not merely that

> birds build—but not I build; no, but strain,
> Time's eunuch, and not breed one work that wakes,

but in these last years of his life he also suffered from nervous depression and from a recurrent conviction of being shut off from his God:

> No worst, there is none. Pitched past pitch of grief
> More pangs will, schooled at forepangs, wilder wring.
> Comforter, where, where is your comforting?

He wrote to Bridges, enclosing two of these poems, "if ever anything was written in blood one of these was." Yet it is in these agonized pieces that his genius reached full stature. They are some of the most poignant memorials of man's capacity for suffering that have ever been built.

The secret of Hopkins' poetical power can best be expressed by two extracts from the Letters. Dixon writes that he finds in Hopkins' poetry "something that I cannot describe, but know to myself by the inadequate word *terrible pathos*—something of what you call temper in poetry: a right temper which goes to the point of the terrible; the terrible crystal." Hopkins himself writes to Bridges "a kind of touchstone of the highest or most living art is seriousness; not gravity, but the being in earnest with your subject—reality." Hopkins was indeed serious about poetry. He took infinite trouble over his own technique and the criticism of his friends' work, as these letters prove. In several places we find clear and detailed accounts of that "sprung rhythm," which is one of his best gifts to posterity and the increasing use of which by later poets justifies his claim to be numbered among the great technical innovators in verse.

Another affinity between him and modern poets is his dislike of verbal archaism and his conviction that "the poetical language of an age should be the current language heightened." This insistence on contemporary idiom and speech rhythm accounts for his championing of sprung rhythm, to which he converted his friends without much difficulty. A source of keener controversy between them was Hopkins' obscurity: and as this is still apt to blind readers to his merits, it would be well to quote his own words on the subject: "One of two kinds of clearness one should have—either the meaning to be felt without effort . . . or else, if dark at first reading, when once made out *to explode.*" This explosion out of darkness is exactly the illumination that the patient reader of Hopkins receives.

There are lighter moments of course in this correspondence. Hopkins' comments on other writers are pungent, agreeably sardonic, and in the main just. He protests against Dixon's dismissing Tennyson as "a great outsider," but continues maliciously about the "Idylls of the King" —"He shd. have called them 'Charades from the Middle Ages' (dedicated to H.R.H., etc.)." And then there is his famous crack about Browning: "He has got . . . a way of talking . . . with the air and spirit of a man bouncing up from table with his mouth full of bread and cheese and saying that he meant to stand no blasted nonsense." Though he had no use for affectation and a profound distrust for the Rossetti school of estheticism, his sensitive mind shrank equally from what he called the "frigid bluster" of Kingsley, Browning and the later Tennyson.

But the prevailing impression left by these letters is that of conflict. Even between Hopkins and his best friend, Bridges, there appears a kind of nervous tension, a difficulty of relationship never finally resolved. His religious vocation puts a wall between his life and ours only too reminiscent of the wall of a madhouse. But in the poet's own mind this conflict is fiercest. His *will* achieved and accepted the subordination of the poet in him to the priest: but his unconscious was permanently rebellious, and on its side fought the whole strength of a deeply sensual nature. This conflict produced the periods of nervous depression that marred his life and made his finest poetry. Our understanding of this poetry is greatly enlarged by his letters. They are the records of a great poet and a lovely character, and are bound to take a permanent place in English literature.

C. DAY LEWIS.

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# Mr. Justice Brandeis

*The Curse of Bigness, by Louis D. Brandeis. Edited by Osmond K. Fraenkel, as projected by Clarence M. Lewis. New York: The Viking Press. 339 pages. $3.50.*

THERE have been previous volumes collecting Justice Brandeis' writings, and the aim of this book seems to be to complete the job and round out his thought. By the very nature of his activity, Justice Brandeis has had to build the body of his thought out of the scattered fragments of articles, addresses and judicial opinions. The luxury of the reasoned treatise or the philosophical essay has been denied him. The editor of the present book, by the convenient grouping of topics, the exhaustive bibliographies under each heading and the judicious selection of material to be reprinted, has performed an enormously useful task. If I were restricted to only one book by or about Justice Brandeis I should choose this one because of the perspective it affords.

It does not change appreciably the now familiar outlines of Justice Brandeis' thinking. If anything it sharpens them, because almost all these papers date back to the years before Mr. Brandeis became Mr. Justice Brandeis: the ideas of the People's Attorney were more boldly etched than those of the black-robed judge. The idealism of the Progressive Era breathes through these pages. The whole book is drenched in an atmosphere of light, but as we read it now the light is filtered through our experience with the war years and the boom years and the depression years. The call to business men, lawyers and politicians to dedicate themselves to the public service comes to us tinged, if not with tragedy, then at least with a tragic irony. I find myself reading these masterly analyses of monopoly and railroads and finance, with their hard grasp of the facts of life in business, and wondering what it was that defeated this combination of the statistician and the prophet.

For there can be no doubt that he stands thus far defeated. The curse of bigness, which forms the overwhelming burden of his thinking, is still with us—in Mr. Roosevelt's America as in Mr. Wilson's. And Justice Brandeis' proposed policy of fighting bigness by breaking up the size of the business unit, regulating monopoly, loosening the death grip of the money power, is still with us as a program. In fact, it is the political credo of the Midwestern and Far Western reformist groups who represent the Bryanism of today. I hope to discuss in a later article the bearing of Justice Brandeis' school of thought upon these programs. Meanwhile it may be pointed out that Justice Brandeis' own objection to bigness in the economic unit seems to rest not only on economic but more basically on psychological grounds. It is finally a question of the breakdown of dinosaur aggregates because of the limited capacity of the human mind. But this objection would seem to apply as well in the sphere of government regulation as in that of business enterprise itself. The very attempt to regulate monopoly leads to an administrative structure that cannot escape becoming a bureaucracy. Our generation today is asking whether the battle of the progressives was not fought on the wrong front: the real question seems to be not whether we shall have bigness or smallness, both in industry and government, but who shall control both, and to what end. It is a question not of scale but of power.

It has become a truism for critics of Justice Brandeis to point out that he is seeking to turn back the hands of the clock. He is undoubtedly aware of the fact that the drift is all in the direction of economic gigantism. But for him this does not settle the issue. Unlike Archibald MacLeish's financier-hero McGafferty, Mr. Justice Brandeis refuses to succumb to the fatalistic view: fatalism is an amenity reserved for poets and philosophers of history. I find this heroic determination of the liberals to move a universe or arrest its movement—to apply constructive statesmanship to the economic problem—appealing and heartening. But measured against economic and political realities, it leaves a persistent canker of doubt.

MAX LERNER.

# The Hindenburg Myth

*Hindenburg, by Emil Ludwig. Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company. 576 pages. $3.50.*

THE SECOND and last President of the German Republic was not born great. Neither did he achieve greatness by his abilities. He belonged to the ranks of those who have greatness thrust upon them. This greatness was the product of myth and legend. It remains an eternal monument to the extraordinary capacity of the German masses for hero worship and self-deception.

The definitive biography of Hindenburg will be a treatise on mass mysticism and a study of the stuff of dreams. It will be an explanation of how, in the minds of millions, mediocrity can be confused with genius, selfishness with altruism, treachery with loyalty, deceit with honesty, stupidity with sincerity, and class greed with sturdy and generous patriotism. Emil Ludwig has not written such a biography. He has added little to the known facts about the man who successively betrayed his Kaiser in 1918, his Monarchist supporters in 1925, his Republican supporters and his oath to Weimar in 1932, and every principle of decency and honor in the year of the Nazi revolution. Ludwig has merely done what Ludwig has many times done before: produced a popular and readable biographical sketch, devoid of all profound insight and innocent of all techniques for the analysis of personality and politics.

Within his limitations, however, Ludwig has written wisely and well, even if his loose, impressionistic style is not wholly effective in dealing with a hollow wooden image possessing no grandeur save in the imaginations of idolaters. He depicts skillfully the values and ideals of the East Prussian Junkerdom. He perceives that Hindenburg constantly desired to serve the interests of this landed aristocracy, rationalized in terms of "God, King and Fatherland." But he does not make this motive what in fact it was—the guiding star of all of Hindenburg's political decisions. He exposes once more the fable of Tannenberg, but in a fashion so half-hearted as to suggest that Hindenburg was possibly, after all, a great commander. The Neudeck scandal, the Ost-Hilfe scandal, the treachery toward Brüning and the Socialists who reëlected the Old Man to the presidency, the machinations of the Landbund-industrialist conspirators who made Hindenburg their willing tool in order to place Hitler in the chancellorship —all these and many other unsavory chapters in the life of the Junker General who delivered the Reich to fascism are neglected or minimized by Ludwig in order to preserve the illusion of an honest and noble character led astray.

A biography should perhaps not be an indictment. But the biography of a fraud should at least be an exposure. Ludwig himself is still a German, even in exile. And as a German he seems still not to have emancipated himself wholly from the Hindenburg myth.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN.

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# Publishers' Properties

*Chronicles of Barabbas, by George H. Doran. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 430 pages. $3.50.*

*Roll River, by James Boyd. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.75.*

*The Last of Mr. Norris, by Christopher Isherwood. New York: William Morrow and Company. $2.50.*

*Ripeness Is All, by Eric Linklater. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. $2.50.*

*Love in Winter, by Storm Jameson. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.*

*National Velvet, by Enid Bagnold. New York: William Morrow and Company. $2.50.*

WHEN Byron's publisher, John Murray, sent him the inappropriate gift of a handsomely bound Bible, Byron sent it back again, having first changed one word in John 18.40. The sentence read, "Now Barabbas was a robber." Byron changed "robber" to "publisher." With the strange tactlessness that Europeans sometimes find charming in Americans, Mr. Doran retails the anecdote and chucklingly makes it his text for a publisher's reminiscences. (Mr. Doran used to be a publisher and salesman of religious books, but that was a long time ago, so he can be forgiven for mistakenly attributing the text to Matthew instead of to John. Biblical purists will find it harder to overlook his "Gospel *by* St. Matthew.")

What the job of a publisher should be, what should be his attitude toward authors on the one hand and readers on the other, are questions that never seem to have bothered Mr. Doran. A Canadian by birth, accident turned him to the book trade, and he emigrated to the United States because he saw greater opportunities for success here. He quickly made good and before very long was heading his own firm; but the mechanics of his rise to the position of publishing tycoon do not figure very clearly in this anecdotal narrative, which is mostly given over to the kind of garrulous boasting and undiscriminating praise of his friends and acquaintances that pass for mellowness and successful wisdom. In addition, he is a pretty bad writer—though no worse than some of the authors he has published. We may not quarrel with this, but we have a right to expect that he will tell us something about being a publisher. He tells us little, except indirectly.

It is in his anecdotes that Mr. Doran's real message lies. He tells ruefully of having turned down that gigantic seller, Harold Bell Wright; thanks his stars that he luckily escaped being the publisher of that pornographer, D. H. Lawrence; and records with equanimity his break with John Dos Passos, who uses such dirty words. He is a business man whose stock-in-trade is books, and it is only a slight exaggeration to say that he regards them not as literature but as properties. The good ones he made money on (a few he let slip through his fingers); the bad ones cost him money. This is the gist of the modern publisher's attitude.

Such an attitude is bound to have its effect on those who produce the publisher's wares. Writers may be no longer the underdogs they were in Mr. Doran's youth, but even in this slightly tarnished golden age few professional authors have the pure determination or the economic luck to snap their fingers at the publisher. The more successful a writer becomes, the more he tends to become a publishing property. With two exceptions, the books mentioned below are examples of this tendency. I am not accusing the authors of deliberately truckling to the debased taste of their publishers. Mr. Doran should have made it sufficiently clear that publishers as a group cannot be said to have any taste at all, in the literary sense. I am merely suggesting that these novels, in greater or less degree, were written to sell. If there is a distinction, make the most of it.

Mr. James Boyd is a good solid investment. His earlier issues ("Drums," "Marching On," "The Long Hunt") have built up the kind of conservative subscribers every publisher likes. His books have been American-historical (good), and romantic (better). This one tells about his own times and habitat: the turn of the century in a Pennsylvania town. If "Roll River" had been Mr. Boyd's first novel it would not have been a publishing success, in spite of its length and its middle-of-the-road sentiment; but as it is, it is bound to be considered (from the publishing point of view) a good book, though actually it is mediocre. Mr. Boyd is a halfway serious writer: which means that now he is established as a valuable property he can afford to indulge some of his private notions about the world that seems real to him. "Roll River" will not enhance his value, but he has a sizable sinking fund to fall back on.

Mr. Christopher Isherwood is the dedicated friend of England's latest and most frightening poets, W. H. Auden and Stephen Spender, but I'm sure he wouldn't mind being accused of having written a pot-boiler. That is, he meant it to be: unfortunately, he has mental sideburns and a nasty tone of voice. "The Last of Mr. Norris" is a story about an engaging old scoundrel who wore a wig and lived nefariously by his wits. The only trouble is, he's not engaging but horrible (let me hasten to add, to American taste; the English may perhaps find something too, too amusing in this middle-aged pervert). To give Mr. Isherwood his due, his story is clever if cruel, and it reads like a sturdy attempt to make a publisher's purse out of a left-wing ear. But the milk of human kindness in it is too condensed. It is like a dirty story that is more embarrassing than funny.

Mr. Eric Linklater, who has given us some lively satire on both America and England (he is a Scotsman), has now blunted his considerable gifts on a farce. "Ripeness Is All" is a supposedly hilarious story about a will whose sly provisions involved the heirs-apparent in an undignified race for progeny. It is better written than it need be; you feel that ingenuity and care have been simply lavished on it. Mr. Linklater may not have felt that it was condescension in him to write a publisher's book, but the story shows the effects of condescension.

The two exceptions I mentioned are Storm Jameson's "Love in Winter" and Enid Bagnold's "National Velvet." Both these books are good properties, but only accidentally. "Love in Winter" is the second volume of what is to be a long serial novel on the London of Storm Jameson's generation, and it is like all her books: stubborn, honest, autobiographical in the best sense. Miss Jameson seems a little depressed at times by the consciousness that her books are not the kind that can ever be very popular. Though she may never write a "good" book in the publishing sense, however, she could never write a really bad one in any sense. Her pertinacity in trying to tell the truth about herself and the other human beings she has known is gradually winning her a respectable audience. "National Velvet" is one of those lucky strikes that publishers pray for. In spite of a bad title and a high-heartedly ridiculous plot, it is a magical story. Enid Bagnold has written a book for grown-ups in the terms of a fairy tale: the whole thing is pure invention, a triumph of make-believe. A country butcher's daughter, with a passion for horses, at fourteen

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finds herself the owner of a racing stable. Never having ridden in anything more strenuous than the local gymkhana, she enters the Grand National, disguised as a boy, and wins it! What's more, as you read it you are not only willing but anxious to believe every word. It is the sort of book that makes you (at least temporarily) forgive both the publishers and their hack-writing assistants, since this kind of property is occasionally made public.

T. S. MATTHEWS.

# Non-Violent Resistance

*The Power of Non-Violence, by Richard B. Gregg. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 294 pages. $2.50.*

MR. GREGG has written an important book that will probably receive less attention than it deserves. For this, I think, its title is partly to blame; Mr. Gregg's candid and thoroughgoing study deals not with mere non-violence but with non-violent *resistance,* and if the title had included this key word a much better idea of its content would have been given.

Mr. Gregg is peculiarly qualified to write on this subject. A lawyer, active for many years as a consultant in industrial relations, he was closely connected with the Federation of Railway Shop Employees from 1920 to 1923. It was during the nationwide railway strike that he became interested in Gandhi's ideas; and after some agricultural work and study in Wisconsin he went to India in 1925 to study the non-coöperation movement at first hand. This book is the fruit of that study, which kept him in India for nearly four years, in close contact with the Indian leader.

Profoundly imbued with the Eastern philosophy that made non-violent mass resistance so largely successful in India, Mr. Gregg believes that it can also be successfully brought to bear in the West, in labor struggles as well as in civil and military disputes. He considers it in the light of biological, psychological, economic and ethical data and comes to the conclusion that while "violence may be somewhat efficient, just as the Watts steam engine was somewhat efficient . . . non-violent resistance is more efficient just as a modern steam turbine is more efficient." And he gives a number of authenticated instances of successful non-violence to support this view. "The objection to military coercion," he quotes from Shaw in this connection, "is not that it is ineffective; it is on the contrary terribly effective, but that its effects are incalculable. They are as often as not precisely the reverse of those contemplated; and in all cases they go far beyond the intention of those who resort to it."

Mr. Gregg's contribution to the subject differs from any I have previously seen in being unsentimental, solidly documented and unusually open-minded in regard to the objections to his thesis. Portions of the book I found thoroughly convincing. He does not show, however, that the method would be successfully applicable in the case of such mass lunacy as Hitlerism or any extreme form of fascism, since it assumes an opponent who has a better nature to be appealed to and is capable of conversion. In cases of individual lunacy Mr. Gregg himself points out that forcible restraint may be indicated. I also doubt that mass non-violent resistance alone can bring about a just society, or that something more than resistance on labor's part will not be needed to effect this change; but that such resistance can become one of labor's tools in this struggle seems to me possible and highly desirable. It is not, as Mr. Gregg is fully aware, a panacea, but it is an effective social instrument.

MARTHA GRUENING.

# Books in Brief

*The Geographic Pattern of Mankind, by John E. Pomfret. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 445 pages. $4.*

THIS IS an interesting and scholarly introduction to the study of how man has been molded by his physical environment and how this environment, in its varied forms, has made history. Professor Pomfret (of Princeton University) is a stout believer in the major, if not exclusive, role played in all human culture by the geographic factor. He carries this belief so far as to discount the overrated influence of race ("race . . . determines neither the form nor the content of culture") and to emphasize the dominance of "coöperative" over "individualist" behavior. He uses a "regional" method, paying particular attention to the agricultural, mineral, economic and political factors involved. Africa and the East Indies, India, a "monsoon environment," China ("The Land of Inertia" does not seem the best description of a country all of whose energies are required to fight off one pack of wolves after another), Japan, Russia, the Mediterranean, South America and the Caribbean area, the United States and Western Europe—such are the patterns described and analyzed in considerable detail. The author appears to regard the "Euramerican" civilization as culturally dominant "for better or worse"—a point of view that might not be shared by Asiatic scholars. Nevertheless, his book is a mine of valuable information, especially for those who still choke on the phrase, "economic determination of history." H. W.

*Rameses to Rockefeller: The Story of Architecture, by Charles Harris Whitaker. New York: Random House. 376 pages, illustrated. $3.50.*

From the time of Rameses to that of Rockefeller, Mr. Whitaker holds, building has come about essentially through the domination of man by overlords. The craftsman has never been allowed sufficient freedom for the self-expression that would have improved and prolonged the "great" civilizations reflected in "great" buildings. Priests, kings, the Christian hierarchy and finally big business have used the hapless craftsman to erect symbols of their unsocial power—to entice or intimidate the common man. The present deficiency in the quality of American building is attributed to the eradication of craftsmanship (natural self-expression) and to the drive for building conceived solely as blatant advertising. Skyscrapers and slums are Mr. Whitaker's anathema; his ideal is "a fine and spacious room for every man, woman and child." His analysis and effective denunciation of the present state of culture and architecture in America should not go unheeded. The historical portion of the book is weak because of its thoroughly romantic approach, with an undiscriminating projection of contemporary hopes and problems into the only partially comparable situations of the distant past. But the attempt to evaluate the social and economic position of the craftsman and architect in history points a real, though neglected, problem for the historian. F. J.

*Pilgrims of the Wild, by Grey Owl. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 304 pages. $3.50.*

Grey Owl, a member by adoption of the Ojibway tribe of Canada, was changed from a trapper into a protector of wild life by a conversion as deep as that of Saul of Tarsus when he and his wife took care of two beaver cubs and tamed them without depriving them of freedom. Their feat was so remarkable that films were taken of

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"The Beaver People," who with their beaver friends are now wards of the Canadian Conservation Department. Grey Owl's book about his animals is written with a simplicity and charm that make it a compound of Ernest Seton Thompson and St. Francis of Assisi. J. G.

*Shoulder the Sky, by James Gray. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.50.*

To let you know what his main character is thinking, regardless of what he is saying, the author has utilized the device O'Neill used in "Strange Interlude." Here it has none of the clumsiness of the aside; and the thoughts of the main character help to make all of the characters in the novel more understandable. Mr. Gray's portrait of Eugene Kane, the young doctor who marries on the impulse of the moment and then starts his practice in a small Midwestern town, is a brilliant one that will be remembered long after the details of the novel are forgotten. The story treats of Kane's efforts to get along with his wife and with the town. Because he is more sensitive and intelligent than most doctors and most husbands, he runs into difficulties with both. It takes some time for his wife to fall in love with him; when she does, it is after he has been secretly unfaithful to her. And the town, with its hypocritical, useless "leading citizens" and its miserable living conditions for most of his patients frays his nerves, so that one minute he is raging and fed up, and the next he is back doing all he can to help. Mr. Gray has made Kane's emotional ups and downs real and has drawn most of his characters with skill. The only thing that prevents his situations from being entirely convincing is the feeling one gets that the author has patterned them too carefully. J. M.

## Contributors

WALTER WILSON is twenty-nine years old, a graduate of Brookwood Labor College, and has been active in the affairs of the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners. At present he is working on a book dealing with the common soldier in America's wars.

BERL BEN MEYR is a research scientist in the field of bacteriology and the author of "Your Germs and Mine," a layman's handbook of bacteriology, published by Doubleday, Doran. He has worked at Beth Israel Hospital in New York City and at the National Jewish Hospital in Denver. At present he is living in Los Angeles.

ROBERT CANTWELL is the author of two novels, "Laugh and Lie Down" and "The Land of Plenty."

TED OLSON is news editor of The Republican Boomerang in Laramie, Wyoming. He has written verse as well as magazine articles, and in 1928 he received a special prize from the magazine Poetry for his poem, "Blizzard."

RAYMOND POSTGATE is the author of several historical and biographical works, including "Murder, Piracy and Treason" and "Dear Robert Emmett." His latest book, "How to Make a Revolution," was published last winter by the Vanguard Press.

WALLACE STEVENS, who is both poet and lawyer, lives in Hartford, Connecticut, and is the author of "Harmonium," a book of verse.

CECIL DAY LEWIS is a young English poet, a member of the literary group that includes Auden and Spender. Among his books are "From Feathers to Iron" and "The Magnetic Mountain." His "Collected Poems" were published this spring by Random House.

MAX LERNER, a member of the Social Science faculty of Sarah Lawrence College, is chairman of the faculty of the Wellesley Summer Institute for Social Progress.

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MARTHA GRUENING writes frequently on race and labor problems.

The initials signed to the brief reviews are those of Harold Ward, Frederick Jochem, Joe Gould and Jerre Mangione.


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